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#### College and School News

According to Dr. R. S. Beale, chairman of the Division of Natural Sciences and Mathematics at Delaware State College, a new course in chemistry and chemical technology has been introduced to train laboratory technicians for war jobs. It is sponsored by the U. S. Office of Education through its Engineering Science Management War Training unit.

The Delaware State Teachers Association held its 24th annual session at the college with more than 300 teachers and educators attending. Gov. Walter W. Bacon of Delaware was the principal speaker.

Dr. William Lloyd Imes, president of KNOXVILLE COLLEGE, made a tour of several important areas in November to publicize the work of the college. He met and addressed groups in New York City and environs, in Pittsburgh and in Detroit.

Jeremiah Ingram Jr., of Aliquippa, Pa., has been elected president of the Student Council of HAMPTON INSTITUTE for the year 1943-44. He is a Junior and has been president of his class for

Ralph Parkhurst Bridgman, recently elected president of the institute, was formerly admitted into office October 29. He will assume his new duties around February 1.

The extension division is entering the wider fields of adult education and community service in the Tidewater area. Of special interest is a night class in basic elementary education in nearby housing project. Adult classes in typing and shorthand are also being sponsored by the Division in Hampton and Newport News.

Among the LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) faculty members who were away on leave last school year and who have resumed their duties at the university

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are the following: Cecil A. Blue (English) who studied at the University of Michigan; Miss Azalea E. Martin (Éducation) who studied school practices in Missouri public schools and the Teachers College, Columbia University; H. Hadley Hartshorn (Education) who studied at the University of Michigan; James D. Parks (Art) who received his Masters Degree from the State University of Iowa; Miss Sara J. Spencer (History) who studied at the University of Chicago, and A. A. Dunson (Modern Languages) who studied at the University of Chicago.

Miss Lucille S. Baker of Minnesota has joined the Education Department of Spelman College. She studied at Ft. Dodge Junior College for two years and at the University of Iowa from which she received the Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1937. During 1938-39 she was a fellow at Yale University and visited the colleges in the Atlanta university system studying problems in race relations and culture contacts in the southern states. During 1942-43 Miss Baker was a fellow at Smith College where she received the degree of Master of Arts in June, 1942. She has been teaching at Ft. Valley State College, at Atlanta University Summer School, South Carolina State College, the Jacksonville branch of the Hampton Institute Workshop and Wilberforce University.

Dr. Henriette Herod has been named chairman of the new committee of dramatics at Spelman College.

Dr. James E. Shepard, president of NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE FOR NEGROES appeared before the U.S. House of Representatives Way and Means Committee in October to speak in favor of a 10% Federal sales tax to provide additional funds to finance the war.

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE is offering for the year 1943-44 eleven courses under the Engineering, Science and Management War Training Program of the U.S. Office of Education. Paul J. Moore, institutional representative, has compiled a summary of these courses which have been published for the public by the college press. Refresher work in physics for teachers, courses in chemistry, business industrial psychology, labor, personnel management and supervisory training are included.

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#### **FEPC Appointments**

The New York regional office of the FEPC announced the appointment of Samuel Risk, Robert G. Jones, and Madison S. Jones, Jr., as examiners. Risk and Jones have been employed by the U.S. Employment Service for the past six years, while Madison Jones formerly was director of youth work for the NAACP.

#### **New Advisory Committee**

The OWI has announced the formation of an advisory committee of Negro newspaper publishers. Members of the committee, selected by the Negro Newspapers Association, will be consulted in regard to war information problems of the Negro press.

#### Alexander in New Post

Dr. Will W. Alexander of Chapel Hill, N. C., vice-president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, has been appointed chairman of a new commission on the church and minority peoples set up by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to aid the churches to become more effective in dealing with racial and cultural problems.

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Vol. 50, No. 12

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THE CRISIS was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, N. Y., by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is \$1.50 a year or 15 cents a copy. Foreign subscription \$1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue reneval blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while THE CRISIS uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y. The contents of THE CRISIS are copyrighted. Copyright 1943 by The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc. All rights reserved.

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#### COVER

Paul Robeson as the Moor in the Theatre Guild production of Othello, The Moor of Venice, under the direction of Margaret Webster, has received one of the greatest ovations in the history of the New York theatre. Critics have, with a few exceptions, raved over Mr. Robeson's interpretation of the role. This is not, however, the first time Mr. Robeson has essayed the role, for he previously played it in London and in this country in Cambridge. Mass., and Princeton, N. J.

#### NEXT MONTH

St. Clair Drake's "Life in a Mixed Unit," originally announced for the December number, will appear in January. William Grant Still, one of America's foremost composers, will have a lively appraisal of contemporary musicians and their music. George Padmore writes on British colonial commissions, and Gwendolyn Williams promises a touching short story.

#### **OUR CONTRIBUTORS**

Arthur E. Burke is associate professor of English in Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia, and he has done original research in early Negro history. Ethel Mannin is an English novelist and sociologist. Dr. Howard W. Odum is one of America's great sociologists and students of race. He has written prolifically and instructively of his native South and its problems. Southern Regions is probably his best known book. He is Kenan professor of sociology and director of the School of Public Welfare in the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Ann Petry was formerly employed on the Peoples Voice. She lives in New York City. Dalton Trumbo, a native of Colorado, now lives in Stauffer, California. He is author of about twenty-five motion picture scenarios, including "Kitty Foyle," and is a script writer for MGM.

## Editorials

#### Break the Filibuster

THE anti-poll tax bill is back on the Senate calendar, having been approved by the judiciary committee. Without waiting for it to be called up on the floor, sixteen senators from polltax states held a meeting and announced that they would lead a filibuster against the bill. Senator Bilbo, of Mississippi, who used to have a job clipping newspapers in the capitol, stated he was prepared to talk against the measure for thirty days continuously.

With the reasoning peculiar to southern legislators of this type, the filibusters have declared that the responsibility for delaying the nation's business in war time will be upon those who insist on a vote on this legislation.

It must be apparent that this enfranchisement of 10,000,000 Americans is tremendously important—to the filibusters. If the poll tax is wiped out and the vote in their respective states is increased by 18% to 48%, as it has been in states which have abolished the tax, they may not be in the Senate after a few elections. Beyond the personal angle, wiping out the poll tax would mean knocking one of the main props out from under a system—feudal, dictatorial, utterly un-American.

The filibuster must be broken and a vote permitted on this legislation, not to reach and possibly exterminate (politically) some of the little men who sit in seats of the mighty, but to bring the very essence of democracy—the right to vote—to millions of voiceless and defenseless Americans. The filibuster can be broken by adoption of the cloture rule, which limits debate to one hour per senator. Any senator who has a pertinent comment on the measure can say it in an hour. Cloture requires a two-thirds vote of the senators present.

Crisis readers are urged to write their senators asking them to vote for the cloture rule so that the anti-poll tax bill will not be filibustered to death, but will be settled one way or another by a vote on its merits.

#### Mean Navy Action

IF IT IS true, as reported, that the Navy is requiring Negro and Filipino Chief Petty Officers, largely cooks and stewards, to wear a different insignia than that worn by other Chief Petty Officers, then it would seem that

a new low has been reached in the humiliation of Negroes who serve their country in that branch of the armed services. In the Army a sergeant wears the insignia of his grade, or rating, and not of his occupation. A mess sergeant, white or colored, wears a sergeant's stripes.

It is also reported that colored Chief Cooks and Stewards have had their hat insignia changed, have been instructed to discard brass buttons, and told to wear bow ties (like waiters) instead of four-in-hand ties.

Apparently there is nothing big about the Navy except its battleships.

#### Change in Virginia Laws?

SEIZING the bull by the horns, the leading newspaper of Virginia, the Richmond *Times Dispatch*, carried an editorial November 13 advocating repeal of the state law requiring separation of the races in public travel.

Editor Virginius Dabney's main theme was that whereas the purpose of the laws when enacted was to separate the races and minimize contact, under present war time conditions there is more contact than ever before, and more interracial friction. He believes the best method of doing away with this friction is to abolish the laws. His editorial, "To Lessen Race Friction," declares in part:

The time has come to do something about the well-nigh intolerable racial friction on the streetcars and buses of the State. This friction stems largely from the laws which compel the segregation of white and colored passengers.

The purpose of these laws, when they were enacted, was to keep the races separate. Actually, under existing conditions, they have the opposite effect, and they are a constant irritant. Hundreds, if not thousands, of times a day, these regulations serve to throw the races into closer contact than ever, and at the same time to wound the feelings of the Negroes.

The laws result in closer interracial contact than would otherwise be the case because whereas white and colored passengers usually sit in separate seats, the invariably crowded condition in the aisles of streetcars and buses at rush hours throws the races together as never before. Colored passengers who get on crowded cars or buses have to push their way to the rear through a dense mass of white people, and in the case of one-man cars they must force their way back to the front again. It would be preferable if the Negroes were allowed to stand or sit in the car or bus wherever they could find room, thus avoiding the push through the packed aisles.

It is this push which causes most of the

trouble. Repeal of the State law which requires segregation of the races on streetcars and buses, and of local ordinances which embody the same requirement, would solve the difficulty. . . .

Segregation of the races on railway trains and cross-country bus lines has been abandoned to a considerable degree, both in Virginia and other Southern States, and it seems definitely on the way out. We have heard of no unfortunate results. Why, then, should not the segregation laws for cross-town trolleys and buses be eliminated? The fact is that they should be, and without delay.

There is little left to be said except, "Amen!" White people came to Virginia in 1607, Negroes in 1619. It would seem that after a period of 324 years they should be able to ride on public conveyances together without segregation and with mutual respect.

#### Incendiary Talk

EVER since the Detroit riots broke upon the country last June there has been much talk and writing about how to ease racial tensions and prevent the creation of an atmosphere in a community in which interracial outbreaks could occur.

None of this has had any effect on certain elements and individuals in Brooklyn, N. Y., largest of New York City's boroughs, which, out of a population of more than 2 million, has more than 100,000 Negro residents.

There is more than a suspicion that the grand jury presentment blasting crime conditions in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area is both a political document aimed at Mayor LaGuardia, and an anti-Negro action. The suspicion as to its racial angle was not lessened by an assertion of a young New York City policeman at a mass meeting November 21 that crime conditions were due to an "influx of sunburned citizens who come up from the Deep South mistaking liberty for license."

The name of the patrolman making that remark is David Liebman. He lives in Brooklyn but was educated at the University of Alabama.

This kind of talk is in the best Goebbels tradition. It smells like the talk in Germany before Hitler took over. We cannot have it here, whether it comes from a Liebman, an O'Reilly, or a Jones. The problems of living together are difficult enough of solution without incendiary remarks breeding division, hatred, and rioting.

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## Crisis in the Making\*

#### By Howard W. Odum

HE assumptions of this discussion are that the South and the Negro, and, therefore, the Nation at large, exclusive of winning the war, are facing their greatest crisis since the days before the Civil War, one hun-

dred years ago.

Although this crisis is running true to the American epic of conflict and compromise, there is in it a crisis of a greater organic and spiritual nature than may appear on the surface. The issues are often less tangible than some of the issues in past crises of America. but they are equally inescapable. And because they are so fundamental and organic there is needed a new high morale on the part of all the people everywhere as the first essential to the exercise of a great wisdom, a careful planning, and a master strategy for the better ordering of race relations in the postwar period. Yet other things are needed, namely, a conscientious selfexamination by the people in all regions and on all levels of leadership and the folk: the realism of facts and their relation to other facts; research and action programs resulting in enduring social arrangements; and a new leadership unafraid on all levels.

There are so many aspects of the situation that it must be clear that in a single short discussion there will be many omissions and there will appear ample contradictions. For the situation itself is one of conflict and contradictions such that at the very beginning of our discussion we might very well acknowledge that everything that has been said by, for, and of all groups and regions is essentially true; and often only a part of even that truth has been told. The problem resolves itself, therefore, into next steps from

this point on.

#### Nature of the Crisis

This paper will limit itself entirely to an examination of the assumption that the present situation constitutes a major American crisis. In order to over-simplify and emphasize this assumption, we shall enumerate a substantial catalogue of evidences which indicate both the nature and extent of the crisis: Increasing racial friction and rioting have centered the attention of the nation and the world on the growing racial tensions in the United States. What to do about this situation is here presented in an illuminating discussion by a veteran sociologist and student of American minority problems

1. An almost universal assumption on the part of the rest of the Nation that "something must be done about" the South's treatment of the Negro. "What," they keep asking, "can we do about the South?" "And do it now?"

2. A general pressure movement to force the hand of the South to eliminate segregation in its technical and legal arrangements, and an almost universal southern movement to resist.

3. A surprisingly large number of the ablest and best Negro leaders who conclude sadly that it may be necessary "to fight it out." "We hope not, we pray not, but we don't know."

4. A surprisingly large number of representative southern leaders who stand to resist at any cost and to subordinate all other issues to that of race. "The passing of laws," they say, "and the increase of coercive pressure will not and cannot change the South's conventions and traditions."

5. A demonstrable tendency in both the "South" and the "North" to sacrifice war efforts and endanger national unity in a stubborn determination to resist or to agitate. In the press, in congress, and in politics, the costs are hardly ever counted.

6. A growing hatred on the part of many Negroes for the whites; an increasing satire and bitterness on the part of many individuals in the Nation at large against the southern whites and their biracial culture.

7. Relative retrogression in the South in both attitudes and action in emergency racial matters, as compared with what appeared to be unusual progress a few years earlier. There appears to be a new pro-South tempo, a solid South again highly motivated for self-defense.

8. An unmeasurable and unbridgeable distance between the white South and the reasonable expectation of the Negro. The fact that both are inevitable and logical products of what has gone before and is to come does not change the situation.

9. Widespread rumors of an extraordinary number, range, and variety, all pointing toward increasing tensions, threatened violence, and tormenting fear, in the major fields of race relations —work, sex, travel, education, politics, military services, freedom, and equality of opportunity.

10. Widespread violence of an extraordinary number, range, and variety of incidents, from police brutalities to violence on bus, streetcar, and in work places, resulting in interracial homicides, riots, and threats of coming re-

prisals.

11. A new and logical behavior pattern of Negro youth to experiment with all possible ways of achieving equality in all aspects of life. That this is a logical and normal product of education and progress does not alter the case.

12. A new and logical Negro labor pattern for both men and women in relation to work for white folks and a consequent breakdown of the southern way of workaday life,

13. Over against this, the unchanged attitudes and ways of doing things on

the part of the whites.

14. The almost universal assumption of the great body of southern folk that nothing can be done about it. And the assumption by the majority that nothing should be done about it except to stop outside agitation.

#### Governors Promise Action

That this is a technical crisis is evidenced by the fact that southern governors take formal cognizance of outside agitation and promise the public they will do what they can to stop it; that western and eastern senators use the race issue technically to defeat essential legislation.

That it is again a technical crisis is reflected in the verdict of southern youth in the armed services who protest that, while they will gladly give their lives for America's freedom to govern herself, they do not want, in their absence, their most precious heritage, the southern way of life, taken away without their consent.

And thousands of other soldiers and sailors, aviators and marines who protest that, while they will gladly give

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>o</sup> This article, which presents part of a many-sided approach to the question, is from the author's forthcoming book, Race and Rumors of Race: Challenge to American Crisis, to be published about the first of December.

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Mixed group listens to Mrs. Roosevelt-NAACP Student Conference, Lincoln University, Pa.

G. Marshall Wilson

their lives for American freedom, they do not want to fight for world freedom which America will not give to the Negro.

#### Crisis Fascinating

There are many other more general evidences of crisis. Throughout the Nation, at times and on all levels, there appears to be that certain psychological fascination that comes from crisis, tensions, mobs, ideological conflicts. More than one white leader of the intelligentsia has been known to say that one of the greatest services to America would be to stir up conflict in the South between the lower brackets of white farm folk and the upper brackets of management, as well as between the whites and the Negroes. On the assumption that the ends justify the means and that the great cause of moral righteousness knows no compromise, they have set themselves to the task of conflict in the grand manner, sometimes primary, but always uncompromising and unceasing. The question is not raised here as to the justification or rightness of such a position, but the evidence is cited as basic reality of

In many places throughout the Nation the appeal has been made for a revival of good will and for a strengthening of cooperation and fellowship among all peoples. On the other hand, many have been heard to say that good will is the last thing that is wanted, since the issues are so clear that nothing short of fighting the matter out will suffice. Many of those who are articulate in urging ways and means to avoid riots have been no less articulate in inflaming certain parts of the population to riot. It is of the essence of tragedy and crisis that not only in the South but in other parts of the Nation there are those who believe that riot and primary conflict are inevitable. This may be true, but, if so, it is all the more evidence of crisis.

#### Attacks on South

One of the most serious aspects of the crisis is the growing intensity of feeling against the South and the very clear policy of attacking the South on all counts and the unfortunate increasing emphasis upon the Negro in politics, in the other regions of the Nation, now following the demagogic tragedy of the South in this respect. To this then is added the widening distance between the South and the revivification of the old term, "the North." And even more tragic is the growing attitude approaching hatred of many of the younger Negroes towards the southern whites.

Although one of the most inspiring and encouraging evidences of the vitality of the American life is the increasing interest, the eager earnestness of people throughout the Nation and the many action agencies and organizations being set up, there is also crisis in the fact that these organizations do not appear anywhere able to get together or to agree upon main programs or procedures.

The nature and normalness of the crisis may be examined further if we look at what we may call three militant fronts and if we over-simplify the situation again by saying that all three of the major militant groups are "right" on the premises of their assumptions and that all three are equally inflexible and adamant. This indicates the supreme need for what we have called new and better strategy.

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#### Three Groups Right

There is special need in this crisis for a recognition of the extent to which all of the groups, white and Negro, in the South and in the rest of the Nation, are "right" in their representation. A part of the crisis is found in the inflexibility of viewpoints and in the task of making adjustments where no yielding is possible on any one of the three main fronts. What is to be done, therefore, and what is to happen when three major groups meet head on with completely conflicting philosophies and inflexible leadership?

Of the three groups, the Negroes appear organically and from the viewpoint of the good society, of democracy, and Christianity "most right." That is, they not only have the right and know they have the right of better opportunity, but they have been led to believe that this right will be forthcoming. More specifically, they have been urged and exhorted to demand all rights, and they have done a good job of it. On the basis of abstract theory and in accordance with the philosophy of the American Dream there can be no refutation of the Negro's claim for his equal place in the Nation.

The second great group, the rest of the Nation, often generally called "The North," and reflecting primarily the white race, includes folk from all the regions, North, East, West. They are "right" in that they know that America is committed to the doctrine of equal opportunity. They know, too, that in the good society there must be no such discrimination as has been made against the Negro. Since this discrimination, both quantitatively and qualitatively, is worse in the South, where most of the Negroes are, that is the great field, of course, for reform efforts.

This group is the second "most right," from the same viewpoint of the good society and American democracy, as is the case with the Negroes. For, citing the guarantees of the American Constitution and the American Dream, they feel greatly embarrassed that the Nation in times of world conflict for democracy should have entire regions in which there is little semblance of equality of opportunity. This group includes not only the general urban and educational leaders but a majority of the New Deal, who represents what might be termed, in the better sense of the word, the reform group. Although admitting discrimination in other regions, they accurately made the point that discrimination is not in the organic or constitutional set-up of the Nation, whereas in the South it is.

#### South Also Right

The third group is the "White South" as portrayed. It is least "right" from the same viewpoints as are applied to the other groups. On these premises, there can be no conclusion except that the South is "wrong." Nevertheless, any physical scientist or cultural anthropologist or student of history would know what the power of centuries and then later generations of conditioning with reference to race have wrought. Any individual who uses any sort of intelligence knows that nowhere in the organic world can such a situation be changed within a day or a week or a year or a decade. The South is "right" in that it is reflecting its natural evolutionary pattern.

The South is "right" again under the system of American democratic government, in which the States have been made the sovereign units of a federation of States as opposed to centralized federalism. Under the provisions of such a government the South has made its folkways and stateways coincide. This is the basis of the much-quoted statement that not all the forces of the world, including all the Axis powers, can make the South suddenly and at one step give up its pattern of racial segregation. Anyone who knows history or social science or psychology or the South knows that this is true.

Now, manifestly there is no solution for these three conflicts except in the type of behavior which the American groups, all three, and the total Nation, which is greater than the three, may develop.

#### Crisis Complex

There is need for each of the three groups to see and understand all the particulars of all the groups and of all the total complex situation. Can they do this? Can the South, after the manner of its revivalists' preaching, come to a certain sense of guilt and repentance through the facing of facts and the realization of impending danger? Can the South admit for once that, along with its rightness and righteousness, it is wrong? Can the other two major forces sense the enormity of the situation and dedicate themselves to the task of understanding as well as of reform, to the end that they may approximate the largest number of adjustments to the largest number of solutions with the least number of conflicts and dangers of revolution?

We have continuously emphasized the fact that there is needed not only high purpose and motivation, a great morale of the people, science and in-

formation, but also organization and arrangements through which leadership can function wisely and through which the common man may understand and participate more and more in the next stages of cultural development. The greatest burden of our problem of race relations, in so far as it relates to the Negro, is, of course, upon the South, although the South can no longer isolate itself or be isolated from the rest of the Nation or world. It is important, therefore, not only as is indicated. that the South should reexamine itself and take steps toward a wholesome reintegration of its culture and motivation in relation to the Nation and the rest of the world, but that it should of, for, and by itself undertake some definite unified program. The first essence of this program is that the South should do the job itself. Inherent in this, however, is the fundamental fact that the South must also be in a position to work with agencies in other regions of the Nation, and that the working of the South shall be clearly and fairly between the races as well as between the regions.

To this end there have been notable efforts within recent months, especially the Durham conference, sponsored and developed by Negro leaders of the South, which became the basis for a new charter of race relationships. This charter has been widely commended and adapted by southern white leadership, and through later follow-up conferences at Richmond and Atlanta there has been inaugurated the Southern Council, the primary purpose of which will be to focus upon racial and regional development.

#### **Principles Elemental**

There were certain elemental principles involved and certain elemental tasks to be accomplished before such a Council could have the unanimity of white and Negro leaders. The first of these was a statement by southerners, giving clear expression to the doctrine of equal rights to all people. This was done in the following statement:

First, we agree upon a new declaration of American principles and a new declaration of ourselves to the task of covenanting together with all regions and all races for the continued better ordering of our society. We recognize fully that in the present crisis this covenant is as important as the earlier compacts of the forefathers, and that the framework within which we covenant together must comprehend a concept and a charter which guarantees equality of opportunity for all peoples. This means more specifically as bearing upon the burden of our present counseling that the Negro in the United States and in every region is entitled to and should have every guarantee of equal opportunity that every other citizen of the United States has

(Continued on page 377)

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## Colour Bar and Sex\*

#### By Ethel Mannin

THE taboo represented by the colour bar is rooted in fear—a "social" fear that the coloured peoples if treated as equals will assert themselves as co-equal with the white races, their masters and exploiters, thus undermining the very basis of imperialism; and the unconscious sexual fear of the coloured man's superior potency. White women must be "protected" from black men; therefore, though, significantly, the taboo does not as rigidly apply in the case of white men and black women. It is quite common to find Englishmen who have lived in India and Africa and have had sexual relations with the native women expressing horror at the idea of English women having similar contact with coloured men. That, they insist, is "different." Usually they do not even attempt any rationalisation as to why it is different; it is one of those things that "go without saying." It is, in fact, a taboo. So deep is the sexual fear in the unconscious that it is always assumed that every black man is eager to rape any white woman, however, unattractive. The rationalisation is that the coloured man is more "animal" than the white man; here speaks the body taboo again, the sensuality taboo. The appalling possibilities for the coloured man that he is out to rape every white woman is brilliantly portrayed by E. M. Forster in his Passage to In-

#### Sex Motive in Race Persecution

The combination of the sexual and the social in the taboo represented by race prejudice produces a savage immorality of which lynching and torture form the horrifying apex. On this aspect of the taboo the interested reader is referred to the admirable work, Half-Caste, by the Eurasian author, Cedric Dover, and a valuable chapter entitled The Place of Prejudice." He observes that "the sexual motif is conspicuous throughout the literature of ethnic persecution; in the sadistic floggings . . . in the correction of natives in South Africa and elsewhere; and in the orgies sanctioned by lynch law." He regards the fundamental nature of "racial" prejudice as a sexual psychosis, and re-

\*Excerpt from Miss Mannin's new book entitled:
"Morality and Taboo," published by Messrs. Jarrolds,

In this article we have an Englishwoman's caustic analysis of the relation of racial prejudice and sex to economic and imperial exploitation of so-called backward peoples

fers to the "defensive rationalisations, such as the paternalising of Southern whites, or the familiar statement that lynching is a necessary defence of womanhood," adding that "in this analysis, the charges brought by white women against coloured men appear in their true light as projected wishes, the mob hysteria that follows being stimulated by subconscious knowledge of repressed attraction." He recalls the "revolting campaign" of the Hearst press against Miss Nancy Cunard when she was in America collecting material for her Negro Anthology, and the disgusting threats and abuse directed against her from the Ku Klux Klan; and cites the Scottsboro' case as an example of "Negrophobic lust." On the sociological side he quotes Lord Olivier as saying that race prejudice is not a biological instinct but "a secondary product of repressive institutions and social conventions which have arisen not out of an initial aversion to coloured races, but out of an undisciplined interest in taking advantage of this weakness and ignorance to use them for the white man's profit, and of the reactions of such institutions and oppression in breeding contempt and fear in inferior minds." Dover himself endorses this when he says that the dominance of colour prejudice in the social scene must be attributed" primarily to the unmoral economic relations between technically advanced and backward groups, and not to ethnic differences which are deliberately used to rationalise aggression."

#### Color Prejudice Rationalized

The popular rationalisation of colour prejudice on the sexual plane is that "mixed marriages" are eugenically undesirable. That this is the sheerest superstition is demonstrated by the biological facts. Dover's book is the scientifically stated answer to the whole question. Julian Huxley's retort to the Eugenics Society—which maintains that "in certain circumstances race mix-

ture is known to be bad"—that "if the alleged inferiority of half-castes . . . really exists, it is much more likely to be the product of unfavourable social atmosphere in which they grow up than to any effect, which would be biologically very unusual, of their mixed heredity," is the answer in brief. Julian Huxley, it should be noted, is himself a councillor of the Eugenics Society.

#### Color Prejudice Not Skin Aversion

That colour prejudice is a "skin" aversion is again not borne out by the facts. Many people who have a prejudice against Negroes have none against Indians, though many a Negro is lighterskinned than many an Indian. Again, many Spaniards are as dark as Indians or the lighter skinned Negroes, and a Spanish girl of my acquaintance is often mistaken for an Indian girl; when it is known that she is Spanish the prejudice against her as an "Indian" is immediately withdrawn-with apologies. There is amongst white people no skin aversion to the dark tan of sunburn, even when it darkens the white skin to an Indian or Negro brown; but a coloured person, on the other hand, is not to be spared the prejudice on account of the lightness of his or her skin. I once wished to entertain two Indian friends in a London restaurant and wishing to protect them against any possible embarrassment, wrote to the manager to ask if his restaurant was subject to any colour bar. He replied that there was "no objection to Indians, but only to African Negroes." I replied that his distinction was too subtle for me, since I had Negro friends who were lighter-skinned than my Indian friends, and some who were almost white, and that as I myself did not recognise any colour bar in any circumstance, I would take my friends elsewhere, and would moreover cease to patronise a place which would not receive my coloured friends.

#### Superstition of Inferiority

A young girl who once worked for me asked to be excused coming the day I was expecting some Negro friends to lunch—as I had told her—because, she said, she would be terrified. "They say they eat you," she said. My attempts to convince her that my friends were not cannibalistic, and had never eaten anyone in their lives nor experienced any wish to, failed utterly, and no domestic help was forthcoming that day.

The contemptuous expression "nigger" is part of the superstition of the inferiority of the coloured peoples, a superstition rooted in the desire to keep him subordinate. Dover quotes Lord Raglan as saying that "the whole idea that there are innate mental differences between people of different races is based upon prejudice rather than upon fact. . . . Intelligence tests carried out in Australia and South Africa have shown that black children are not inferior to white children. . . . So-called racial differences, so far as our evidence goes, are merely differences in upbringing." He also quotes Dale Yoder (from the Journal of Educational Psychology, a paper on the Present Status of the Question of Racial Differences): "The consensus of competent scientific thought, contemplating the inability of mental testers to define intelligence, the inadequacy of all attempts to take such factors as education, social status and language into consideration, and the deficiencies of testing conditions, finds no proof of racial inferiority or superiority and eliminates the usual methods of determining such standing from the field of scientific usefulness.

#### Color Prejudice Immoral

The immorality of colour prejudice is obvious, since it is productive of nothing but evil-and evil of the ugliest and most brutal kind. The colour of a human being's skin is as incidental as the colour of his hair or eyes, and, as Dover points out, every nation is so much an ethnic melange that the case against "mixed blood" has no biological basis. Yet it still takes courage for a white woman to live openly with a coloured man; "half-caste" is still as much a word of contempt as "nigger"; doors are still slammed in the faces of men and women for no other reason than that their skins are not white, as though some special virtue attached to that pallid complexion. And we have the impudence, in the face of all this, to consider the coloured peoples "back-

The truth is that this most vicious of all taboos has not yet outlined its evil purpose; it still serves the unholy cause of imperialist power and greed. It has significance that Paul Robeson sent his son to be educated in the U.S.S.R. as the only country free of race prejudice. Robeson himself, for all the adulation heaped upon him by white people as a great artist was once, it may be re-

membered, refused admission to a fashionable London grill-room. There is a certain satisfaction in reflecting that there are certain "dives" in Harlem where white people are not tolerated. And there is an old Mexican Indian folk-tale to the effect that Jesus was really black, but that it is a great secret. . . .

#### All People Have Prejudice

In his "Preface on Prejudices" to Dover's book, Prof. Lancelot Hogben admits that "the best of us have prejudices and the wisest of us harbour superstitions." He himself is not ashamed to admit that he has a prejudice against men who grow beards before fifty, platinum blondes and-as a professor -to examination candidates who do not write legibly. But this he points out, does not prevent him from giving an illegible examinee a fair deal, or make him wish to disenfranchise bearded men under fifty, or debar platinum blondes from the legal or engineering professions. He would not choose his friends, he says, from footballers or foxhunters, but this does not mean that he is not in favour of providing the children of foxhunters and footballers with the same educational facilities as he demands for his own childen. Immorality lies not in the prejudices or superstitions in themselves, but the extent to which we allow them to play in our relations with fellow human beings.

Not to like Jews or Negroes is one thing; no one can help their likes and dislikes; but out of this prejudice to support a Nazi attitude to Jews and the common British attitude to coloured peoples, is to be guilty of the grossest immorality. How do devout Christians reconcile the "dirty Jew" and "dirty nigger" attitude with that tenet of their belief which asserts that God made Man (not Englishmen only, but Man in the broad anthropological sense, white, brown, yellow) in his own image? Yet devout Christians supported the the slave trade, and to this day support the lynch law; and how many missionaries fussily concerning themselves with "saving" the souls of the black heathen really regard them as brothers and equals and treat them as such? Do we ever hear of a white missionary lady marrying a black man and raising up children by him? On the other hand the "blacks" make good cheap servants, particularly when tamed into submission through "the Word of God." . . . Of the humbug of the "Christian" missionising whites it is difficult to write without bitterness.

There is scope for a whole treatise on the extent to which "Christian" hypoc-

risy and imperialist interests work together, like Church and State. Through "the Word of God" administered by the white man the black man is persuaded that the proper station to which it has pleased God to call him is to serve the white masters who have stolen his country. . . .

We shall not see the passing of the evil "dirty nigger" taboo until the social system has destroyed finally and for ever the capitalist-imperialist system which keeps the coloured races in subjection, and until in the new order of a free world men and women achieve a rational sex education. But when the coloured races are no longer economically and socially inferior humanity will have gone a long way toward overcoming the sexual prejudice. This economic and social equality may be counted on to wear down, gradually, the so-called "skin aversion"; a more enlightened education will achieve the rest.

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## Blackface, Hollywood Style<sup>\*</sup>

By Dalton Trumbo

WHEN Ralph Waldo Emerson, one of the most impeccably remote intellectuals of his time, set aside Transcendentalism to defend John Brown and urge arms for the Kansas abolitionists and be shouted from platforms by pro-slavery hood-lums, he summarized his philosophy of writing in a single sentence which, it appears to me, might appropriately become the keynote of our Writers' Congress. "No man," he declared, "can write anything who does not think that

what he writes is, for the time, the his-

tory of the world."

It is the exciting and occasionally disagreeable privilege of writers today to live and work in a world as full of conflict and great premonitions of freedom to come as the world of Emerson. All writers of integrity during the middle Nineteenth century fought slavery and the racial lies upon which it was founded. Today they fight a much greater extension of slavery called Fascism, with an enormously broadened base of racial lies. Just as Emerson discovered the writer's role in the battle, so we have discovered that we can't write anything-whether we are journalists, novelists, poets, publicists, playwrights or screen writers-without likewise thinking that what we write is, for the time, "the history of the world."

Inasmuch as this is a panel upon minority groups, and since the fate of all minority groups-including writers-is at stake in the present war against Fascism, it might be illuminating to glance backward and discover how we, as American writers, have dealt with our own minorities. For whether it pleases us or not, the fury with which the Fascists attack us constitutes a high, if unpleasant, tribute to our influence. If, therefore, certain Fascist racial falsehoods find serious acceptance in our country, perhaps it is because American writers-all of us-through laziness or ignorance or lack of courage, have nourished them to their present dangerous and explosive state.

American press, theatre, fiction and

**American Minorities Stereotyped** 

It is interesting to note the exact similarity of character cliches which the

\*A paper read before the United Nations Writers Congress held at the University of California, Los Angeles Campus, October 1-3, 1943.

The movie Negro is a humorous, lazy, lying, fellow because so many Americans have fallen victims to the racial myths of fascism. And both movie moguls and scenario writers are guilty of perpetuating this stereotype. When writers swear to stop ridiculing racial minori-ties, asserts this MGM writer, the Negro will be assigned better movie roles

screeen have applied to a wide variety of racial and national minorities. When the great Irish immigration was at its flood tide, and staid New Englanders became alarmed at the possible corruption of their Puritan tradition, the Irishman bloomed as a humorous, drunken, lying, lazy, dirty, unassimilable fellow. But we had also presented the Negro as a humorous, drunken, lying, lazy, dirty, unassimilable fellow. And later, with the flood of Mexican immigration, we turned upon our Southern neighbor and portrayed him as a humorous, drunken, lying, lazy, We did it dirty, unassimilable fellow. to the Italians, too, and the Chinese and the Slavs. The similarity of this pattern of ridicule, the complete lack of any sort of discrimination in applying the pattern, strongly suggests that we have fallen victims to the same racial and national myths which so faithfully have served the wretched ends of Fascism.

South Americans, because they did not migrate to our shores in any great number, and Jews, because of their culturally secure position in our society, received different treatment at our We stigmatized all South Americans as panderers, gigolos, thieves and murderers. We dealt with Jews as dialect buffoons, or as sharp business men, or as mysteriously pious folk voluntarily segregated from the community. Almost never have we dealt with them as people. In "Boy's Town" we even subscribed to a particularly obnoxious racial myth by providing a Jewish youngster with one of the largest noses in screen history.

Irish Fight Cliches With Politics

The Irish tackled their problem by political organization. They even established Anti-Stage Irishman societies. which expressed their general discontent by rotten-egging Irish comics. More recently in Buenos Aires a disgruntled audience tore up a movie theatre in protest against our slanderous presentation of their country-men. Such vehemence, in combination with the Good Neighbor policy, has obliged us to modify our lurid concept of South American life. Our desperate need for Mexican labor, aided by quiet work on the part of both governments, has produced a similar revision in attitude toward the country of Juarez. The Chinese are now our Allies, so we have ceased ridiculing them; and the Irish comedian and hockshop owner bring neither the laughs nor the hisses of pre-Hitler days. We have not yet had the courage to treat these minorities in a positive and constructive fashion, but we have at least called off our stupid campaign of insult and ridicule. However, we must make certain this is not merely an armistice forced by the exigencies of war, but rather a permanent treaty based upon an enlightened understanding of minority problems.

That there is a certain degree of opportunism, a certain lack of clarity in our sudden tender treatment of the minority groups already mentioned may be demonstrated by the plight of the one group, which unluckily, has not possessed the weapons with which to defend itself. By sheer weight of numbers, by the sheer horror of his condition, the American Negro remains one of the most oppressed and persecuted minorities in the world. Since his status is not that of an ally of America in this war, there is no friendly government whose placation requires an amelioration of his condition. He is, on the contrary, an American citizen, largely deprived of one power which has been conferred upon all other American minorities-the right to vote. While 10 percent of our general population is born abroad, while less than 70 percent of our general population can boast two parents of native birth, the 12,865,-515 Negroes in the United States are 99.4 percent native American born. "If nativity were really the measure of citizenship," comments Fortune magazine, "the Negroes would excel any other national or racial stock in this coun-

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Columbia Pictures

Reg Ingram, shown here in a scene from the new Columbia picture, "Sahara," has one of the best roles assigned to Negroes in recent years, just the opposite of the stereotypes denounced in this article.

#### Negro Proscribed in Life and Art

In large areas the American Negro is denied the right to vote, although generously accorded the obligation of paying taxes and fighting in the armed forces. He is forced to live apart from the human race in ghettos. In many states he is obliged to travel separately, like an animal. His children receive poorer educations than their white contemporaries. His income is below the national average. But his rent is higher. His infant mortality rate is higher. His maternal death rate is higher. His disease rate is higher. His death rate is higher. Yet as if this were not a cross heavy enough for any race to bear, we as writers in the press and radio, in magazines and the novel, on the stage and screen, have seized upon the Negro as the object of our cruelest slanders.

In Hollywood the most gigantic milestones of our appeal to public patronage have been the anti-Negro pictures, "The Birth of a Nation," and "Gone With the Wind." And between the two, from 1915 to 1940, we have produced turgid floods of sickening and libelous treacle. We have made tarts of the Negro's daughters, crap-shooters of his sons, obsequious Uncle Toms of his fathers, superstitious and grotesque crones of his mothers, strutting peacocks of his successful men, psalm-singing mountebanks of his priests and Barnum and Bailey sideshows of his religion. We have even gone so far in "The Man on America's Conscience" as to traduce and villify the greatest

Reconstruction champion of Negro liberties—Thaddeus Stevens.

#### Classic Caricature of Negro

We have developed a classic caricature of the Negro in relation to the Civil War which brought him freedom. As we present him, he is an ignorant fool, preferring his "franchise in a bucket," rather than the forthright citizen who accomplished such splendid, progressive work in the so-called Black Legislatures. He loves the conditions of his servitude, and refuses to accept freedom when it comes, despite the fact that hundreds of his fellows participate in scores of slave insurrections, that tens of thousands of them fled north via the Underground Railway before the war, and that almost a quarter million of them actually fought in the northern armies. As for the northern soldier who freed the Negro, he is presented as a looter, a brigand, a barbarian and a rapist, in contrast with the southern soldier, who invariably is generous, courageous and cultured.

Succeeding generations of writers have perverted the whole humane significance of the Civil War to fit the reactionary legend of the old South of crinoline and magnolia blossoms and lovely, gentle ladies, where one could read, in the year 1856, the wail of a Southern gentleman in such a newspaper advertisement as: "\$300 RE-WARD-Ran away from the subscriber on Saturday . . . my servant woman named Emeline Chapman, about 25 years of age . . . with two children, one a female about 21/2 years old; the other a male 7 or 8 months old, bright color." As writers we can imagine the drama of Emeline Chapman's flight from slavery with her two children; but as practical men and women of letters, we have always chosen to dramatize the travails of her mistress, one Mrs. Emily Thompson, who inserted the ad.

#### Movies Dress Up Vicious Lies

Our current crop of motion pictures, produced in a moment of national crisis when the President has made a direct appeal for racial understanding and cooperation, reveals many of the vicious old lies dressed up and paraded before us as evidence of our stern devotion to winning the war. "Two Tickets to London" presents us with a Negro murderer. "Tales of Manhattan" contains caricatures of the most objectionable sort which were greeted by Negro picketlines. "Holiday Inn" was typically insulting Mammy and Pickaninny bilgewater, while "This Is the Army" Jim Crowed Negro service men into a number with a zoot suit background.

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background.

"Cabin in the Sky," "Stormy Weather" and "Dixie," despite a few minor concessions to Negro dignity in the first two, contained bad features which far

outweighed their virtues.

There are, however, some hopeful signs to report. The Kildare series has been outstandingly progressive in its treatment of Negroes. "Bataan" contained an excellent Negro character, while "In This Our Life" we discovered a Negro law student who represented a complete departure from the stereotype. Rex Ingram's role in "Talk of the Town" was sympathetically written and portrayed with dignity. "Stage Door Canteen" delivered a blow for democracy in a sequence showing the decoration for bravery of a Negro soldier. "Mission to Moscow" made splendid and dignified use of Haile Selassie. "Casablanca" provided a strange combination of the stereotype in a position of unusual companionship and trust. "Oxbow Incident" departed widely from the accepted Negro pattern in an excellent photoplay which perhaps placed too much emphasis upon the Negro's propensity for prayer in crises. With the exception of "The Little Foxes," there have been no recent good roles for Negro actresses; and even here the screen version seemed much weaker in its delineation of the Negro's character than the legitimate play.

#### Better Types Needed

But one looks in vain for dramatic material which presents such Negro types as Brigadier General Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., who rose from the rank of private; or Captain Hugh Mulzac, skipper of the Liberty Ship Booker T. Washington; or Dean Dixon, the youngest man ever to conduct the NBC Symphony, and the first of his race to conduct the New York Philharmonic; or Richmond Barthe, the sculptor; or Paul Williams, the architect, or William Grant Still, the composer; or Katherine Dunham, the dancer; or the late George Washington Carver, or any of hundreds of other distinguished Negroes.

But, you may object, these are exceptional and unusual people, and no true representative of the group as a whole. And I might counter with the observation that so are Scarlett O'Hara and Rhett Butler and ex-Ambassador Davies and the Invisible Man exceptional and unusual people, and no true representatives of the group as a whole.

Time Magazine recently declared it an open question whether the Negro is the white man's equal as a soldier. As writers, we might dispel such doubts by pointing to the record of the Negro in all the wars of the American Republic. We might dramatize the Negroes

with Perry on Lake Erie, with Jackson at New Orleans, with Roosevelt at San Juan Hill. Half of Hobson's men were Negroes when he sailed into Santiago Harbor, and it was John Jordan, Negro, who fired the first shot from Dewey's flagship in Manila Bay.

#### Heroes Should Be Dramatized

We might dramatize the record of the 369th Volunteer Negro Infantry from New York City, a regiment which was under fire for 191 days with casualties of 1500 killed or wounded, yet yielded not one prisoner or one foot of earth to the enemy. The 369th's regimental colors were decorated with the Croix de Guerre, while two of its officers received the Congressional Medal of Honor, nine the Legion d'Honneur, ten the Distinguished Service Cross, sixty-one the Croix de Guerre and eight the American Citation for Gallantry.

But, you may object, these are individual heroes and exceptional regiments. And I might counter with the observation that so was Sergeant York an individual hero, and so was the Fighting Sixty-Ninth an exceptional regiment—and from the same city

as the a69th to boot!

Not a single picture which I have seen deals with Negroes in the war effort-a job in which they are heavily active, as witness the fifty percent drop in Detroit production following the recent insurrection in that city. Long shots of assembly lines consistently fail to include Negroes in our factories. It would seem reasonable, and certainly truthful, to place Negroes in such scenes, not necessarily to build parts around them, but to lend authenticity to the script and to remind the audience that the Negro people are playing an important part in every aspect of the war effort, from the skies above Sicily to the assembly lines of Willow Run. We should, of course, avoid the self-conscious use of Negroes; but we might well profit from the French example in "Grand Illusion," where we caught glimpses of a Negro officer in the prison camp. He had nothing to say; he was not emphasized; but he was there, a living part of the whole canvas; his existence as a fellow sharer of war's vicissitudes was admitted.

#### Movies Shy From Negro Themes and Writers

But if we shy from Negro themes, we also shy from Negro writers. A shocking and, to us, most pertinent example of the race myth in operation may be found in Hollywood's failure to tap the great reservoir of creative Negro talent. To my knowledge, only Langston Hughes and Clarence Muse have been employed as screen writers, and then but briefly. Richard Wright, certainly one of the major writing talents of our time, has heard no studios clamoring at his door. And there are innumerable others-J. Saunders Redding, Roi Ottley, Margaret Walker, Carl Ruthavan Offord, Sterling Brown, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, W. E. B. Du Bois, Walter White, James Weldon Johnson, Zora Neale Hurston, to mention only a few-none of whom has had the opportunity to devote his gifts to the widest and most influential medium of our age in its period of most desperate need.

And what are we to do about it? Are we to accept the racial stereotypes exposed by Mr. Hoijer and support the patterns of racial discrimination revealed by Mr. White? Are we to continue to act as literary typhoid Marys, consciously or unconsciously purveying Fascist poison? Or are we simply to swear an oath never again to permit ourselves to be beguiled into ridiculing and insulting racial minorities? Here, to be sure, is progress of a kind, for to write nothing is better by far than to write viciously. But simply to foreswear evil is a peculiarly supine and negative contribution to human progress, which leads in the end to writing nothing about any controversial subject, Fascism included.

#### Writers Must Re-Educate People

No, there is a more positive course of action. It is logical to believe that a war against Fascism, a war for the Four Freedoms, a war for the People's Revolution, a war for the Century of the Common Man must affect writers, must galvanize them, precisely as it affects and galvanizes all other professions and classes. Traditionally we are the bearers of ideas and in performing this task many of us risk becoming writers who are, as Petronius Arbiter discovered long ago, "of the kind that rich men hate." But if we aspire to continue our traditional function we must necessarily resume our honorable and ancient marching position in the vanguard of human thought moving toward a better world for all the people who inhabit it.

We have, therefore, no other course but to act positively, to write positively, to abandon neutrality, to forsake negation. In any positive decision for action we may take as a result of this Writers' Congress, we shall not be acting alone. There is no occasion for dashing about like ink-stained Don Quixotes individually assaulting the bastions

(Continued on page 378)

## On Saturday the Siren Sounds at Noon

#### By Ann Petry

A T FIVE minutes of twelve on Saturday there was only a handful of people waiting for the 241st Street train. Most of them were at the far end of the wooden platform where they could look down on the street and soak up some of the winter sun at the same time.

A Negro in faded blue overalls leaned against a post at the upper end of the station. He was on his way to work in the Bronx. He had decided to change trains above ground so he could get a breath of fresh air. In one hand he carried a worn metal lunch box.

As he waited for the train, he shifted his weight from one foot to the other. He watched the way the sun shone on the metal tracks—they gleamed as far as he could see in the distance.

The train's worn 'em shiny, he thought idly. Train's run up and down 'em so many times they're shined up like a spitoon. He tried to force his thoughts to the weather. Spitoons. Why'd I have to think about something like that?

He had worked in a hotel bar room once as a porter. It was his job to keep all the brass shining. The door knobs and the rails around the bar and the spitoons. When he left the job he took one of the spitoons home with him. He used to keep it shined up so that it reflected everything in his room. Sometimes he'd put it on the window sill and it would reflect in miniature the church across the street.

He'd think about Spring—it was on the way. He could feel it in the air. There was a softness that hadn't been there before. Wish the train would hurry up and come, he thought. He turned his back on the tracks to avoid looking at the way they shone. He stared at the posters on the walls of the platform. After a few minutes he turned away impatiently. The pictures were filled with the shine of metal, too. A silver punch bowl in a coca-cola ad and brass candlesticks that fairly jumped off a table. A family was sitting around the table. They were eating.

He covered his eyes with his hands. That would shut it out until he got hold of himself. And it did. But he thought he felt something soft clinging to his hands and he started trembling.

To the average citizen an airraid warning is just another nuisance, but to this worker it brings memories of marital unhappiness and tragic love

Then the siren went off. He jumped nearly a foot when it first sounded. That old air raid alarm, he thought contemptuously—always putting it off on Saturdays. Yet it made him uneasy. He'd always been underground in the subway when it sounded. Or in Harlem where the street noises dulled the sound of its wail.

Why, that thing must be right on top of this station, he thought. It started as a low, weird moan. Then it gained in volume. Then it added a higher screaming note, and a liftle later a low, louder blast. It was everywhere around him, plucking at him, pounding at his ears. It was inside of him. It was his heart and it was beating faster and harder and faster and harder. He bent forwards because it was making a pounding pressure against his chest. It was hitting him in the stomach.

He covered his ears with his hands. The lunch box dangling from one hand nudged against his body. He jumped away from it, his nerves raw, ready to scream. He opened his eyes and saw that it was the lunch box that had prodded him and he let it drop to the wooden floor.

It's almost as though I can smell that sound, he told himself. It's the smell and the sound of death—cops and ambulances and fire trucks—

A shudder ran through him. Fire. It was Monday that he'd gone to work extra early. Lilly Belle was still asleep. He remembered how he'd frowned down at her before he left. Even sleeping she was untidy and bedraggled.

The kids were asleep in the front room. He'd stared at them for a brief moment. He remembered having told Lily Belle the night before, "Just one more time I come home and find you ain't here and these kids by themselves, and I'll kill you—"

All she'd said was, "I'm goin' to have me some fun-"

Whyn't they shut that thing off, he thought. I'll be deaf. I can't stand it. It's breaking my ear drums. If only

there were some folks near here. He looked towards the other end of the platform. He'd walk down that way and stand near those people. That might help a little bit,

The siren pinioned him where he was when he took the first step. He'd straightened up and it hit him all over so that he doubled up again like a jack knife

The sound throbbed in the air around him. It'll stop pretty soon, he thought. It's got to. But it grew louder. He couldn't see the tracks any more. When he looked again they were pulsating to the sound and his ear drums were keeping time to the tracks.

drums were keeping time to the tracks.
"God in Heaven," he moaned, "make it stop." And then in alarm, "I can't even hear my own voice. My voice is gone."

If I could stop thinking about fire-fire-fire. Standing there with the sound of the siren around him, he could see himself coming home on Monday afternoon. It was just about three o'clock. He could see himself come out of the subway and start walking down Lenox Avenue, past the bakery on the corner. He stopped and bought a big bag of oranges from the push cart on the corner. Eloise, the little one, liked oranges. They were kind of heavy in his arms.

He went in the butcher store near 133rd Street. He got some hamburger to cook for dinner. It seemed to him that the butcher looked at him queerly and he could see himself walking along puzzling about it.

Then he turned into 133rd Street. Funny. Standing here with this noise tearing inside him, he could see himself as clearly as though by some miracle he'd been transformed into another person. The bag of oranges, the packages of meat—the meat was soft, and he could feel it cold through the paper wrapping, and the oranges were hard and knobby. And his lunchbox was empty and it was swinging light from his hand.

There he was turning the corner, going down his own street. There were little knots of people talking. They nodded at him. Sarah Lee who ran the beauty shop—funny she'd be out in the street gossiping this time of day. And Mrs. Smith who had the hand laundry. Why, they were all there. He

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turned and looked back at them. They turned their eyes away from him quickly when he looked at them.

He could see himself approaching the stoop at 219. Cora, the janitress, was leaning against the railing, her fat hips spilling over the top. She was talking to the priest from the church across the way. He felt excitement stir inside him. The priest's hands were bandaged and there was blood on the

The woman next door was standing on the lower step. She saw him first and she nudged Cora.

"Oh-" Cora stopped talking. The silence alarmed him. "What's the matter?" he asked.

"There was a fire," Cora said. He could see himself running up the dark narrow stairs. Even the hall was filled with the smell of dead smoke. The door of his apartment sagged on its hinges. He stepped inside and stood perfectly still, gasping for breath. There was nothing left but charred wood and ashes. The walls were gutted and blackened. That had been the radio, and there was a piece of what had been a chair. He walked into the bedroom. The bed was a twisted mass of metal. The spitoon had melted down. It was a black rim with a shapeless mass under it. Everywhere was the acrid, choking smell of burned wood.

He turned to find Cora watching

"The children-" he said, "and Lilly

"Lilly Belle's all right," she said ldly. "The kids are at Harlem Hoscoldly. "The kids are at Harlem Hospital. They're all right. Lilly Belle wasn't home."

He could see himself run blindly down the stairs. He ran to the corner and in exciting agony to the Harlem Hospital. All the way to the hospital his feet kept saying, "Wasn't home." "Wasn't home."

They let him see the kids at the hos-They were covered with clean white bandages, lying in narrow white

First time they've ever been really dean, he thought bitterly. A crisp, starched nurse told him that they'd be all right.

"Where's the little one?" he asked. Where's Eloise?"

The nurse's eyes widened. "Why, she's dead," she stammered.

"Where is she?"

He could see himself leaning over the small body in the morgue. He still had the oranges and the meat and the empty lunchbox in his arms. When he went back to the ward, Lilly Belle was there with the kids.

She was dressed in black. Black shoes and stockings and a long black



Homer S. Brown, now serving his fifth term in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives was in October appointed by the judges of common pleas court to fill one of two vacancies on the Pittsburgh Board of Public Education. He was one of the two men selected from a field of more than twenty candidates. An able legislator, Mr. Brown has been twice voted by legislative correspondents at Harrisburg to be the ablest legislator in the Pennsylvania House. He is an alumnus of Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va., and the law school of the University of Pitts-

veil that billowed around her when she moved. He was thinking about her black clothes so that he only half-heard her as she told him she'd just gone around the corner that morning, and that she'd expected to come right back.

"But I ran into Alice-and when I came back," she licked her lips as though they were suddenly dry.

He could see himself going to work. The next day and all the other days after that. Going to the hospital every day. Living in an apartment across the hall. The neighbors brought in furniture for them. He could hear the neighbors trying to console him.

He could see himself that very morning. He'd slept late because on Saturdays he went to work later than on other days. When he woke up he heard voices. And as he listened they came clear to his ears like a victrola record or the radio.

"You ain't never Cora was talking. been no damn good. And if you don't quit runnin' to that bar with that

dressed up monkey and stayin' away from here all day long, I'm goin' to tell that poor fool you're married to where you were when your kid burned up in here." She said it fast as though she wanted to get it out before Lilly Belle could stop her. "You walkin' around in mournin' and everybody but him knows you locked them kids in here that day. They was locked in-

Lilly Belle said something he couldn't hear. He heard Cora's heavy footsteps cross the kitchen. And then the door

He got out of bed very quietly. He could see himself as he walked barefooted across the room. The black veil was hanging over a chair. He ran it through his fingers. The soft stuff clung and caught on the rough places on his hands as thought it were alive.

Lilly Belle was in the kitchen reading a newspaper. Her dark hands were silhouetted against its pink outside sheets. Her hair wasn't combed and she had her feet stuck in a pair of runover mules. She barely glanced at him and then went on reading the paper.

He watched himself knot the black veil tightly around her throat. He pulled it harder and harder. Her lean body twitched two or three times and then it was very still. Standing there he could feel again the cold hard knot that formed inside him when he saw that she was dead.

If the siren would only stop. It was vibrating inside him-all the soft tissues in his stomach and in his lungs were moaning and shrieking with agony. The station trembled as the train approached. As it drew nearer and nearer the siren took on a new note-a louder sharper, sobbing sound. It was talking. "Locked in. They were locked in." "Smoke poisoning. Third degree burns." "Eloise? Why, she's dead." "My son, don't grieve. It will probably change your wife." "You know, they say the priest's hands were all bloody where he tried to break down the door." "My son, my son-

The train was coasting towards the station. It was coming nearer and nearer. It seemed to be jumping up and down on the track. And as it thundered in, it took up the siren's moan. "They were locked in. They were locked in."

Just as it reached the edge of the platform, he jumped. The wheels ground his body into the gleaming silver of the tracks.

The air was filled with noise-the sound of the train and the wobble of the siren as it died away to a low moan. Even after the train stopped, there was a thin echo of the siren in the air.



HONORABLE FRANCIS E. RIVERS

Morgan Smith

ITY COURT Justice Francis E. Rivers was elected on November 2 to one of the highest judicial posts, that of City Court Justice, ever held by a Negro in New York state, and probably the highest in the nation. This postion pays a yearly salary of \$17,500. Justice Rivers was a candidate of the Republican and the American Labor parties, and his high achievement is the result of years of hard work and outstanding civic service. Earlier in his career Justice Rivers had served as an assemblyman representing the Nineteenth Assembly District in Manhattan, and also as an assistant district attorney in New York County. He was appointed to the latter post in December, 1937, by the then district attorney Thomas E. Dewey; and when Mr. Dewey was elected governor, Mr. Rivers continued under district attorney Frank S. Hogan until he was appointed last September 13 to fill out the City Court post made vacant by the death of Justice James C. Madi-

As assemblyman Mr. Rivers intro-

duced bills to aid tenants and to establish a tenth Municipal Court district in Manhattan, which would give Negroes a chance to have justices of their own race in the Municipal Court. This latter bill became law. Mr. Rivers made an excellent record as a legislator although he failed of re-election as a result of factional disputes within the Republican organization, whose candidate he was. So he returned to the civil practice of law, handling many civil and criminal cases. In 1932, 1936, and 1940 he was a representative of the Negro voters division of the Republican national campaign in the East.

Mr. Rivers has also served on a number of public and civic committees, and was one of the incorporators of the New York World's Fair in 1939. A result of his civic service is that he received unusual endorsements from civic and legal groups during his campaign.

Mr. Rivers was born in Kansas City, Kansas, July 30, 1893, the son of a Baptist clergyman, the Rev. David Foote Rivers, and Mrs. Silene Gale Rivers. The family, however, moved

to Washington, D. C., in 1898, when Mr. Rivers attended the elementary and high schools. In 1911 he entered Yale and worked his way through, ma joring in history and economics; he won his A. B. degree and a Phi Beta Kappa key in 1915. The following year he entered the Harvard Law School but left to become an inspector in the Winchester Firearms plant when the United States entered the war in 1917. He subsequently entered the officers training school at Des Moines. Iowa, from which he was commissioned as a first lieutenant with the 367th Infantry (the famous Buffaloes). Transferred to France, he saw active service in the Meuse-Argonne offensive and other campaigns. He was later transferred to the 351st Machine Gun Bat-

Upon leaving the Army Mr. Rivers enrolled in the Columbia Law School from which he was graduated in 1922. He was admitted to the New York bar on January 15, 1923, but he was for a time unable to obtain law work, so he went to work in the postoffice. He was finally taken into the law office of Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, then a practicing attorney, and incidentally the same lawyer who resigned from the American Bar Association when it showed an unwillingness to accept Mr. Rivers' membership earlier this year. Mr. Rivers remained with the Goldstein firm for two years and then hung out his own shingle.

Mr. Rivers was married on May 27, 1918, to Miss Lucy Ellen Miller.

William M. Chadbourne, chairman of the Citizens Committee for Mr. Rivers, said, after Mr. Rivers' election: "Francis E. Rivers was elected justice of the City Court because he was the best qualified of the candidates."

#### Negro Soldiers Praised

Uncle Sam's Negro soldiers were praised by Senator James M. Mead of New York who recently returned from a 40,000 mile trip around the world on a Senate committee investigation of the American military theatres. "The work of the colored boys generally in our Army and in our Navy is of the highest order," said Senator Mead.

#### Sergeant Joe Louis Gets Rest

Worn by a gruelling schedule of exhibitions, Sgt. Joe Louis Barrow and his group of boxers who have been appearing at Army camps were given a rest in November, after reaching the Pacific coast.

#### The Crisis

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## Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

THE NAVY DEFINES "INAPTITUDE": When Negro seabees lack aptitude for adjustment to Navy jim crow, their protests are defined as "inaptitude" and "unfitness" and the men involved are given "undesirable discharges." At least this is what happened to fifteen Negro seabees who brought their complaints to the NAACP office on October 25. Most of the men went into the Navy in December, 1942, and took their "boot training" at Camp Allen, but it was not until on or about the last of January, 1943, that they began to notice racial discrimination. Their unit was at first an all-Negro outfit, but at Camp Bradford whites from different batallions were incorporated with them. And Jim Crow reared his ugly head with the advent of these whites. Whites with second and third class ratings were immediately re-rated so that they could be over those Negroes in the unit who had second class ratings. When the unit went aboard ship for Island X, it had one Negro first class man, and he was supposed to be placed aboard ship, according to his rating, with the whites but when the latter protested his presence he was removed and sent into the hold with the rest of the enlisted men. Meals were supposed to be served according to rating, but no Negro, regardless of rating, was allowed to be served until after all whites had eaten. Discrimination went even further, for after a few days at sea the authorities went so far as to put up signs and ropes across the decks to separate the whites and Negroes. The signs read: "For first class men and chiefs only." No mention of race! But the catch was that all first class men were white since the lone Negro first class man had been removed. Heated arguments and protests finally brought about removal of the ropes.

Guards aboard ship were supposed to carry out their duties impartially, yet when a Negro guard spoke to a white chief for smoking in his bunk (which was against the rules), it was the guard who was attacked and then "put on report." Along with jim-crow toilets and store windows went an "attack" upon the brass buttons of the colored seabees. Though these buttons were on the uniforms when originally issued by the Navy, the whites wanted them removed and substituted with plastic ones. Only when it was proved that plastic buttons were unobtainable was the incident closed.



G. Marshall Wuson

Prof. Luther P. Jackson (right) of Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va., at NAACP student conference, Lincoln University, Pa., explains poll tax payments in Virginia to actress Jean Muir and Aaron O. Wells.

In the field the men found the same type of jim crow they had encountered aboard ship. Going into the service store, they found a rail separating it into two windows. One was for CPO and first class men, which meant Negroes. In the lines for CPO's, etc., Filipinos, Chinese, and white men below the rank of first class were restricted to the window for "Other enlisted men." The Negroes refused to buy at the window and as a result the sign was removed; but the white men then refused to buy from the store.

Continued protests against these discriminations finally led to the calling of a meeting by the commanding officer, who explained that the meeting was absolutely "off the record." Each of the men told of his grievances. Some of them were "white" and "colored" signs; the matter of ratings (a Negro couldn't be re-rated to a first class man); the separate liberty busses for white and colored; and that most of the first class men and leaders were with a few exceptions white. The same type of discrimination existed in the "chow lines" and the barber shop.

The following day the Regimental Commander summoned the men to the office of the commanding officer and told them that the meeting of the previous day was a violation of navy regulation. He further said: "You have really brought about a small state of mutiny," and then went on to explain the different horrors of mutiny. The following Monday after the Regimental Commander had talked to them the men were notified to report to the Offi-cer of the Day. They were then told to get all their gear and report back to the office. On the third day they were discharged. The men are now preparing to appeal to Frank Knox, secretary of the Navy, for reinstate-

FDR REBUKES COMPTROLLER GENERAL: On the same day, October 7, that Mgr. Francis J. Haas announced his resignation as FEPC chairman to become Bishop of Grand Rapids, Mich., Comptroller General Lindsay C. Warren nullified Executive Order No. 9346 by holding "that the obligation imposed by Executive Order 9346 upon

contracting agencies to incorporate a non-discrimination clause in each contract awarded by them was not a mandatory requirement, but merely a directive." Warren gave this ruling when the Southwestern Bell Telephone Co. refused to give a guarantee of non-discrimination in its war contract.

In a telegram to President Roosevelt, the NAACP called Warren "unfit and prejudiced," and Walter White further pointed out that the Association had, between 1936 and 1940, protested five times against Warren's appointment to his present post. During that period Warren had, both as a member of Congress and as chairman of the House Committee on Accounts, "bluntly refused and boasted of refusing to permit American citizens, because of their color, to patronize the public restaurant in the House of Representatives."

As a result of the protests of the Association and many leading citizens and organizations, President Roosevelt ruled that the anti-discrimination clauses are "mandatory and should be incorporated in all Government contracts." And the President added pointedly that "the order should be so construed by all Government contracting agencies."

And the order was so construed when the Southwestern Bell Telephone of Kansas City, Mo., signed its government contract. For the company signed a contract for telephone services to be furnished the National War Agencies in that area, and the contract contains the anti-discrimination clause required

by Executive Order No. 9346!

Texas Primary Argument: On Wednesday, November 10, Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel of the NAACP, made the opening half of the argument before the U. S. Supreme Court against the Texas "illy-white" primary. The concluding argument to the Court was made by Judge William H. Hastie, chairman of the NAACP national legal committee.

Mr. Marshall argued in behalf of his client, Lonnie Smith, who, in August, 1941, attempted to vote in the primary election in Houston, Texas. Dr. Smith, a dentist, was refused the opportunity to vote in the Democratic primary, and the sole reason was that he is a Negro.

In his argument before the Supreme Court Mr. Marshall maintained that the Democratic party in Texas is the only one required by law to hold a primary election. He cited to the court that the Democratic party was to all intents and purposes identical with the state machinery of Texas. He also asserted that any white elector, regardless of party affiliations, is permitted to vote.



Mayor Frank J. Hogan of Troy, N. Y., welcomes NAACP officials to two-day state conference held in Troy in October. Left to right are Frank Jenkins, president; Mrs. George Bowks, assistant secretary of state convention; Mayor Hogan and Joseph E. Allen of New York, president; Lionel C. Barrow, secretary, and Earl Rhone, regional vice-president.

The primary basis for the NAACP case was the U.S. Supreme Court decision in Classic vs. U. S., arising in Louisiana. In that case the court held that the primary was part of the general election. The NAACP is relying heavily on the Classic case to win, and Mr. Marshall, in his argument before the court, held that there was no essential difference between primary elections in Louisiana and Texas. The NAACP lawyers, in their brief submitted to the court, are calling upon the high tribunal to reverse its decision in Grovey vs. Townsend and to affirm its decision in Classic vs. U. S., which will permit millions of Negroes throughout the south to vote.

MICHIGAN SUDETENLAND: It has remained for the whites of Inkster, Mich., to think up a new jim crow wrinkle. Instead of running the Negroes out of town, the Inkster whites want to detach themselves from their colored brothers. The Inkster plan would detach 80 per cent of the territory, including all of the white residents, the public buildings, improvements, and the largest single taxpayer, from the village and leave the remaining portion, occupied by Negroes, with the legal obligation of the village debt of more than \$750,000. To counter this move the NAACP, the Civil Rights Federation, Local No. 600,

UAW-CIO, and Inkster's two Negro village councilmen, Louis J. Demby and Osborne E. Jones, have secured a temporary injunction from Judge Robert M. Toms restraining the Wayne County Board of Supervisors from certifying the petition for the proposed detachment, and from setting the date for an election on the issue. The court has issued an order to show cause, returnable November 12.

BALTIMORE NAACP UPS NEGRO REGISTRATION: More than 50 per cent of the Negroes who registered at the election board office at the courthouse in Baltimore last month brought cards issued by the NAACP who directed them to the board's headquarters. This unprecedented registration was the result of the Baltimore branch campaign conducted under the slogan "A voteless people is a hopeless people." This campaign added thousands of Negro names to the Election Board books.

DRY BONE TORTURE: On October 18 the U. S. Supreme Court was petitioned for a writ of certiorari to the Oklahoma Court of Criminal Appeals in the case of W. D. Lyons, an Oklahoma Negro, who was convicted in January, 1940, for the murder of three white persons near Hugo, Okla., and sentenced to life imprisonment. In an

The Crisis



Under executive secretary Randall L. Tyus, president Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson and treasurer Joshua E. Maxwell, these campaigners of the Baltimore branch, in their membership drive, have added more than 6,000 members.

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On October rt was petiorari to the nal Appeals is, an Oklaonvicted in der of three Okla., and nent. In an earlier appeal NAACP attorneys had questioned the conviction of Lyons on the grounds that his confession had been extorted by force and violence. On the night before the confession was obtained Lyons had been kept in a room in the courthouse for the entire night and during that period there were admittedly at least twelve officers and citizens in the room. One of the officers kicked the skin off the shins of Lyons' legs; another officer kicked him in the stomach and blackened his eye; while still another officer cuffed him about. All the officers, however, admitted that during that night they placed a pan of human bones in Lyons' lap and told him they were the bones of his victims. This first confession was ruled out by the lower court but a subsequent confession made a few hours later was admitted. The prosecution made no effort to explain how the bones of the victims were obtained although these bones were produced twenty-two days after the people were dead.

REVIEW SOLDIER DEATH SENTENCE: The NAACP has carried its fight to save the lives of three Negro soldiers sentenced to die for rape to the Board of Review of the Office of the Judge Advocate General of the U. S. Army. The soldiers are Pvt. Lawrence Mitchell of Baldwin, Mich.; Pvt. John Walter Bordenave of New Orleans, La., and Pvt. Richard P. Adams of Columbus,

Ohio. The three men were convicted of rape on Hattie Rose Mason at Camp Claiborne, La., in 1942. The NAACP appealed the case to the U. S. Supreme Court where it was declared that the federal courts did not have jurisdiction over the case. The soldiers were then prosecuted by a general court martial at Camp Maxey, Texas, and were defended by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, and military counsel. They were, nevertheless, convicted and on July 30, 1943, all three were again sentenced to death.

Argument in defense of the soldiers was that the evidence does not sustain a conviction of the crime of rape, nor does it in any way justify the death penalty for all three men. It was also pointed out that the court martial had committed reversible error in admitting certain alleged confessions of the men and in permitting the Trial Judge Advocate to bring out certain inadmissible evidence by means of leading questions. Thurgood Marshall has stated that if the Board of Review approves the conviction and sentence the ultimate decision will be up to President Roosevelt.

PTC KEEPS JOBS WHITE: On November 6 the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP held a mass-protest march against the discriminatory hiring policy of the Philadelphia Transportation Company. The PTC needs car oper-

ators, mechanic-helpers, and bus cleaners, yet it has consistently refused to permit Negroes to work at these jobs. And in a final desperate attempt to exclude Negroes from employment, the company was discovered to be offering \$10.00 each to any of its present white employees who would refer to the company job applicants obtained from among friends and relatives. Miss Carolyn Davenport, executive secretary of the Philadelphia NAACP branch, stated that efforts were being made to get action from the FEPC, the WPC, and the USES. Consideration is also being given to a taxpayer's suit against the PTC and its company union.

THE LATE JOHN R. SHILLADY: With the death of John R. Shillady on September 6 at the age of sixty-eight, America and the Negro lost a staunch friend of the dispossessed. Mr. Shillady was one of a group of Americans who did outstanding pioneering work in the field of social reform. Much of presentday social reform is based upon his achievements. Soon after finishing the Detroit, Mich., public schools Mr. Shillady entered social work as executive secretary of the Buffalo (N. Y.) Association for Relief and Control of Tuberculosis; and throughout his long and fruitful life he was connected, usually in an executive capacity, with a large number of social up-lift organizations. From February, 1918, until August, 1920, he was executive secretary of the NAACP, and under his administration the Association more than doubled its branches and membership.

It was as secretary of the Association that he was attacked and badly beaten in Austin, Texas, August 22, 1919, by a mob led by County Judge Dave J. Pickle and Constable Charles Hamby. Mr. Shillady was in Austin to consult the governor and the attorney general and other officials about Association business, but despite the peaceful and proper nature of his mission he was attacked and many southern newspapers even approved the mob's action. And though the Association tried to secure representative Texas counsel to prosecute an action against the mobbists, none could be found who would take the case. Governor Hobby of Texas, in answer to a wire from the national office, replied: "Shillady was the only offender in connection with the matter referred to in your telegram and he was punished before your inquiry came."

Mr. Shillady was born in 1875 in Ireland, but was brought to this country at the age of five. He was married to Miss Etta May Ronde of Detroit, Mich., in 1902.

Boss Petrillo Toots: In answer to a letter from the NAACP charging that 631 A. F. of M. locals, members of the A. F. of M. of which he is boss, are limited to white musicians only, Petrillo evasively replied that the AFM "always has been and will always continue to prohibit discrimination of any kind in any form." "So far as I know," Petrillo adds, "the present situation is entirely satisfactory to the colored members. If there is any dissatisfaction on that subject on the part of any member or any local, they know that any complaint on their part will be received and given proper attention by the International Executive Board.'

The NAACP letter further asserted that only two locals in the entire United States, Local 802, New York City, and Local 5, Detroit, Mich., admit Negroes to full membership. The NAACP also pointed out that where colored and white locals are in the same territory both white and colored musicians suffer because employers play one against the other and thus lower the pay scales for both.

STIMSON QUERIED ON 93RD DIVISION: There is a widespread report that the 93rd division has been broken up and that its separate units have been assigned to guard duty along the Pacific coast. In an attempt to learn if this

report is true, the NAACP addressed a letter to Secretary of War Stimson. This letter declared: "Inasmuch as the 93rd was the first Negro combat division to be activated in this war, and inasmuch as Negro Americans had entertained hopes of the contributions these men would make in combat areas, you can appreciate, we are sure, the effect of the reported action upon the Negro civilian population. Within the limits prescribed by military security, this Association would appreciate an authoritative statement from the War department on this persistent rumor regarding the 93rd division."

SEPARATE BADGES FOR NEGRO PETTY OFFICERS: A protest against an order forbidding Negro chief stewards and chief cooks, with the rating of Chief Petty Officers, from wearing the regular insignia for chief petty officers in the Navy, has been lodged with Secretary Frank Knox by the NAACP. Complaints from San Francisco and Norfolk assert that the Negro CPO's had been ordered to wear a crescent with four straight bars underneath, whereas all other CPO's in the Navy wear three red chevrons surmounted by an eagle.

The NAACP has come into possession of a copy of an order signed by Commander C. Adair, executive officer at the Naval Air Station at Norfolk, one paragraph of which reads:

"It is noted that the Chief Cooks and Chief Stewards on this station are wearing the wrong rating badge on their uniforms. The proper rating badge for these ratings is the crescent with four horizontal bars underneath, similar to first class rating with an additional horizontal bar. Non-regulation rating badges will be removed immediately."

The NAACP letter to Secretary Knox also mentioned other complaints:

"We are informed that the colored Chief Petty Officers were told that they must remove the regular insignia from their white caps and substitute the letters USN. They were also told not to wear brass buttons and to wear bow ties instead of four-in-hand ties. We are also informed that within the limits of the Norfolk Naval Air Station, Negro Navy men are segregated into the rear seats of buses operated to carry personnel from one part of the station to another. We urge the speedy abolition of these discriminatory rules and regulations.

CHICAGO RECRUITS: Under the leadership of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, national field secretary and campaign chairman Eugene O. Shands, the Chicago branch has added more than 8,000 members and collected more than

\$14,000. On tag day the campaign was directed by Mrs. Louis B. Anderson. Oscar C. Brown is president and Charles D. Murray is treasurer.

#### **Branch News**

CONNECTICUT: The Bridgeport - Stratford branch met in the Walter's Memorial A. M. E. Zion church in October.

The first fall meeting of the Hartford branch was held October 10 in the Shiloh Baptist church. Mr. Madison S. Jones, Jr., of the FEPC addressed the meeting. Dr. A. F. Jackson introduced the new Youth Council Committee headed by Mrs. Ann Crawford. Announcement was made that there were 934 members of both the senior and youth branch with total collections of \$1,459.00 to date.

Alfred Baker Lewis, a member of the executive board of the NAACP, addressed a meeting of the Stamford branch in the Union Baptist church in October. His subject was "The Strategy of the Minority Groups."

Members of the Bridgeport branch were guests in October of the Carter Patriotic and Civic Association.

MARYLAND: The Baltimore branch of the NAACP has registered over 5,000 persons at the office of the Supervisor of Elections in the Court House. More than 3,000 newcomers to the state have declared their intentions. At one time on Thursday, November 4, 160 colored people were standing in line in the office of the Supervisor of Elections. On Saturday,

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 November 6, 500 persons crowded the corridors in the Court House to get registered before the deadline, which was November 6. Executive Secretary Tyus says the job is only half done, and the fight will continue because it is not enough for the persons to just register.

The Baltimore branch will begin a Citizenhip School on November 18 to teach the use of the voting machine and to stress the need

for voting.

The Membership Campaign has brought in well over 11,000 members, and over \$13,000. The Campaigners are doing double duty: registering people at the Court House, and soliciting membership for the NAACP. The closing date for the Membership Campaign is 20,000 members.

At the weekly report meeting of the Baltimore branch, on Friday night, November 5, at the Sharp Street Church, delegates who attended the NAACP Youth Conference at Lincoln University gave reports. From Coppin Teachers College: Misses Carolyn Barnes, Melva Rawlings, Carrie Peat, and Ruth McGuint. From Morgan State College: Mrs. Leona Jackson, and Miss Muriel Dougall.

Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the Baltimore branch has announced November 8 as the date for the election of officers.

The Baltimore branch has determined that the status of the Negro in Baltimore will never be the same. The colored citizens of Baltimore are aroused and are determined to fight for racial advancement with the ballot as well as in the courts.

MASSACHUSETTS: The annual membership drive of the New Bedford branch was opened Ottober 24 at the Union Baptist church. Mildred Jenkins, Boston soprano, was presented in connection with the drive.

MICHIGAN: The Niles branch closed its membership drive October 31 with twelve renewals and forty-seven new members, giving a total enollment to date of 209. Under the splendid ledership of president R. W. Gulley the Niles branch has been able to "sell" Negro labor (men and women) to the Clark Equipment Co., of Buchannan, Mich. The branch had the support of the CIO in this drive.

On October 30 the Detroit branch presented a skit in the AKA Mardi Gras held in the Prince Hall Lodge. Miss Etta Hurley represented "Miss America" and her attendants were the "Four Freedoms." Freedom of Speech and the Press was played by Nathaniel Ribraun; Freedom of Religion, by Rev. John W. McCrary, assistant pastor of the Metropolitan Baptist church; Freedom from Want, by Miss Irene Willis; and Freedom from Fear, by Edgar Ellis. The Detroit branch is making every effort to make the "Four Freedoms" work in Detroit, and with this goal in mind sponsored "Miss America" and the "Four Freedoms" for the 1943 AKA fashion show.

MINNESOTA: Leo Bohanan and Wendell Jones spoke at a meeting of the Minneapolis

branch October 17.
Criticism of a recent statement made by Mr. Roosevelt that if she were a Negro she "would not do too much demanding," was made at a meeting of the St. Paul branch in the Hallie Q. Brown house October 19. Some of the persons at the meeting took exception to her use of the word "demanding" in connection with what are basic constitutional rights. Mrs. Roosevelt's statement was part of an article, "Freedom: Promise or Fact," the wrote for the October issue of the Negro Digest. Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, pastor of the Camphor Memorial Methodist church and president of the St. Paul branch wrote a letter to Mrs. Roosevelt in which he asked why the Negro should "have to demand his God given and constitutional rights."

NEW JERSEY: At a meeting of the Paterson branch in October, Miss Anita Flynn discussed the "Revision of the Constitution of New Jersey," The Rev. Charles L. Tartar, pastor of the St. Augustine Presbyterian church and an ardent worker in the local NAACP branch, has entered service in the United States Navy as chaplain.

Former assemblyman A. Matlack Stackhouse of Moorestown was the guest speaker at the regular monthly meeting of the Burlington county branch. He discussed constitutional changes in New Jersey.

The regular monthly meeting of the Bridgeton branch was held at the John Wesley Methodist church October 19. The principal speaker was Elmer J. Hewitt of Camden.

On November 21 the Elizabeth branch presented the famous Hindu writer and lecturer on India, Dr. S. Chandra-Sekhar, at the Union Baptist Church.

New York: James Egert Allen, president of the State Council of Branches of the NAACP, addressed the Tuckahoe branch October 24 at the Shiloh Baptist church. Mr. Allen, a public school teacher in New York City, is treasurer of the New York branch of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, and a past president of the New York city branch of the NAACP. This meeting marked the end of the annual membership drive conducted by a committee headed by Mrs. Mattie Hagans.

A farewell reception in honor of Rev. and Mrs. Joseph Price Robinson was given October 21 at the Liberty Presbyterian church by the Troy branch. Mr. Robinson leaves in November for Cleveland, Ohio, to assume pastorate of St. Mark's Presbysterian church.

The Jamaica branch nominated officers October 23 at a meeting in the African Methodist Episcopal church.

The Albany branch has finished its annual membership campaign. Rev. J. Price Robinson of Troy, N. Y., was guest speaker at the opening meeting of the drive. There were three divisions in the campaign set-up: the Red Division, led by Mrs. M. R. Jefferson, the White Division, led by Mrs. G. D. Bowks, branch president; and the Blue Division, led by Alex Gibbons. At the close of the campaign, prizes in the interest of the third war loan campaign were awarded the winners. The Albany branch was represented at the meeting of the New York State Conferences of branches in Troy, N. Y., by the following officers and members: Mrs. G. D. Bowks, Mrs. A. J. Oliver, Mr. and Mrs. Calvin Butler, Mrs. Branch, Mrs. Felton, and Miss Van Ness.



Ohio: The Peoples Peace Committee of Cleveland held a meeting in October in cooperation with the NAACP. The discussions were led by Miss Lucretia Matthews.

The Cincinnati branch asserted October 15 that the local area office of the WMC was not "in step with the policy and program of the regional and national office, particularly in making an effort to eliminate discrimination in employment." Pointing out the availability of 25,000 Negro women in this area, the NAACP said it was a matter of "common knowledge" that Negro workers, particularly women workers, had not been employed in local war industries to the extent they were available. The Association claimed that 85 per cent of the employed Negro female workers in this area were confined to domestic and personal service jobs having little or no relation to the war production program.

Dean S. Yarbough, head of the sociology department of Wilberforce University, Wil-

Dean S. Yarbough, head of the sociology department of Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, was the guest speaker of the East Liverpool branch in the final service of its annual membership drive.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, secretary of the NAACP youth council, included Dayton in the list of cities visited in November.

OREGON: Wyatt Williams, former president and executive board member of the Portland branch was expelled from that organization at a special meeting October 21 for his part in organizing an auxiliary boilermakers' union for Negroes. He was charged with going against the policy of his organization when he helped form a segregated Negro union. Williams countered that he was not acting as a

member of the NAACP in his labor activities.

Rhode Island: The proposed recreation center in Newport for colored people to be established under a federal grant was discussed at considerable length at a meeting of the Newport branch held in the Mt. Zion A. M. E. church October 18. The Association took no stand on the matter, but was seeking information regarding plans for the project. A recreation center as proposed is desired but it is felt by the colored residents that they should be given full information on the plans before they express approval or disapproval. The meeting was presided over by president Lyle Matthews and was largely attended.

South Carolina: O. E. McKaine, executive

SOUTH CAROLINA: O. E. McKaine, executive secretary of the Sumter branch and associate editor of *The Lighthouse and Informer*, was the guest speaker at a pew rally held October 24 in the Ladson Presbyterian church.

VIRGINIA: The Cumberland branch of the NAACP has been recently organized and is now busy mapping out a program which will be of benefit to local Negroes. The following officers were elected: Mrs. Bernetta B. Booker, president; John Lipscomb, vice-president; Mrs. Dollie Fleming, secretary; Normal C. Booker, financial secretary; and Joe Giles, Jr., treasurer. Chairmen of committees are Mrs. Laura Fleming, program; Mrs. M. M. Booker, educational; Mrs. Mary Hemmings, membership; and A. E. Washington, legislative and legal redress. Dr. Luther P. Jackson of Virginia State Col-

lege was the guest speaker and he stressed the value of unity and organization.

The Virginia State Conference of the

The Virginia State Conterence of the NAACP met in Richmond on November 6

West Virginia: The Lorado branch held its regular monthly meeting in October at the Buffalo high school. New members were enrolled and a report from the committee delegation that attended the Charleston's branch twenty-fifth anniversary was heard.

here twenty-fifth anniversary was heard.

Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., of New York, was the guest speaker at the twenty-fifth anniversary meeting of the Charleston branch.

Large delegations from local NAACP chapters at Montgomery, Point Pleasants, Institute,

Saint Albans, and Lorado were in attendance. Attorney T. G. Nutter, president of the Charleston branch reported 306 new memberships realized at the anniversary and \$441.32 in contributions.

WISCONSIN: The Madison branch reports the following activities for the month just past:

On Sunday, September fifth, the secretary participated in a half hour broadcast (the University of Wisconsin regular Sunday 3:30-4:00 o'clock CWT Forum)—topic, "Is the Race Problem Getting Worse?" Other participants were Scudder Mekeel, Thomas McCormick, and A. C. Garnett, professors of anthropology, sociology, and philosophy respectively, all of the University of Wisconsin. In addition, Mekeel is Consultant on Race Relations for the Rosenwald Foundation.

The Secretary was invited and wrote the guest editorial for the *Wisconsin State Journal*, one of Madison's two dailies, for Sunday, September 26.

The guest editorial idea was introduced by the JOURNAL about a year ago. The person invited to write it is supposed to be "a competent authority selected for special knowledge on a current subject."

Attorney James A. Dorsey, president of the Milwaukee branch, was the principal speaker at a special public meeting on September 28. Mr. Dorsey also presented our Charter to the Madison branch. The acceptance remarks were made by the Rev. Geo. L. Collins, Vicepresident of the Madison branch, and minister to the Baptist Students at the University of Wisconsin.

#### **Youth Council News**

STUDENT CONFERENCE: One hundred and seventy-two registered delegates from 16 states and the District of Columbia met at the Fifth Annual Student Conference of NAACP college chapters held at Lincoln University, Chester county, Pa., October 29-31. Delegates came from points as far distant as New Orleans and Scotlandville, La., Springfield, Mass., and St. Augustine, Fla., representing 13 college chapters and 20 youth councils. Ten white colleges and seven youth-serving organizations, white and interracial as well as several NAACP branches, were also represented.

Mrs. Roosevelt in her address, which was broadcast over station WIP, stated: "We, as a nation, must cooperate with other nations throughout the world. We know they will have different backgrounds, that they will not all be white, and the white people have got to learn that just being white is not anything which sets you apart or above any one else. She further added: "We must begin with these two things. Equal opportunity for training and equal opportunity to hold jobs for which you are trained. These are basic things to the democracy of any country. And these you are going to discuss in the next few days. You will find not only words but deeds and it can be done."

Problems in education were presented by Thurgood Marshall. L. D. Reddick talked on anti-Negro propaganda in textbooks and general publicity; Dean Flemmie Kittrell of Hampton Institute discussed equalization of opportunities; Dr. Luther P. Jackson of Virginia State College spoke on the franchise; Roy Wilkins explained the traditions that give Negro youth something to fight for; Charles Douds, regional director of the NLRB New York, discussed economic security; Actress Jean Muir stated that Hollywood is giving better



G. Marshall Wuson

Mrs. Roosevelt addressing NAACP Student Conference at Lincoln University, Pa.

roles to Negroes; Walter White denounced comptroller General Lindsay Warren; and Dr. Channing Tobias spoke at the Sunday morning chapel service.

Elections were completed and resolutions and proposals were acted upon at the closing session. Gloria Morgan of Wayne University, Detroit, Mich., was elected chairman; Joel Maxwell of Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C., first vice-president; Joe Howard of Howard University, Washington, D. C., second vice-president; Mattebelle Wesley of Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va., secretary; and Marion Harris of Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., assistant secretary.

Resolutions and proposals adopted by the Conference called for the following: (1) the end of all discrimination and segregation in the armed forces; (2) the abolition of discrimination by the American Red Cross, including especially segregation in the blood plasma banks; (3) a federal law to aid the states in education, the funds thus made available to be distributed without discrimination on account of race, color, or national origin; (4) closer association between NAACP college chapters and white student groups on the various campuses; (5) congressional legislation that will make permanent the FEPC; (6) ac-tivities by the entire youth section of the NAACP to instruct in the use of the ballot and to work for the removal of restrictions of and to work for the removal of restrictions of the exercises of the franchise; (7) consultation and cooperation with organized labor in every community; (8) freedom for subject peoples of the world; (9) the pardoning of Alton Levy, now confined to the guardhouse at the Lincoln, Nebraska Air Base, after conviction on charges which included protest by him of the treatment of Negroes at the base; (10) and the inclusion of NAACP Youth councils

#### CHANGE OF ADDRESS

When sending in change of address be sure to give both the old and the new address. Three weeks notice is required for a change of address. along with college chapters in one Youth Conference annually.

The Crisis

REPRESENTATIVES AT THE CONFERENCE: Callege chapters: Southern University, La.; New York University, N.Y.C.; New Jersey Colleg for Women, N. J.; Hunter College, N.Y.C.; Miner Teachers College, Washington, D. C.; Coppin Teachers College, Baltimore, Md. Yale Divinity School, Conn.; Lincoln University, Pa.; Newark College of Engineering, N.J.; Gammon Theological Seminary, Ga.; Johnson C., Smith University, N. C.; Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.; Morgan State College, Md.; Virginia State College, Va.; Chepney Teachers College, Pa.; Dillard University, New Orleans; Hampton Institute, Va.; Talladega College, Ala.; Albright College, Pa.; Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Sarah Lawrence College, N. Y.; Clark College, Ga.; Florida N. & I., Fla.; and Bucknell University Pa.

YOUTH COUNCILS: Willow Grove, Pa.; Wilmington, Del.; Montclair, N. J.; Trenton, N. J.; Newark, N. J.; West Chester, Pa.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Morristown, Pa.; Springfield, Mass. Darby, Pa.; Savannah, Ga.; West Philadelphia Germantown, Pa.; Detroit Mich.; Crestmont, Pa.; Washington, D. C.; Hartford, Conn.; Cheraw, S. C.; Avery Institute, S. C.; and Princeton, N. J.

ORGANIZATIONS: Philadelphia, B'nai B'rith: Philadelphia Trade Council; United States Student assembly, N. Y.; and American Friends Service, Pa.

New Charters Granted: The board of directors has granted new charters to the Hillburn, N. Y. youth council; the Trenton, N. J. council; the Centralia, Ill. council; and be Morris Brown college chapter, Atlanta, Ga.

ESSAY CONTEST: The youth division of the American Jewish Congress through its Metropolitan education committee is sponsoring a nationwide essay contest on the topic "What Youth Seeks in the Postwar World." Among the distinguished members of the board of judges are Mrs. Stephen S. Wise, president of the Women's Division of the American Jesish Congress; Judge Nathan D. Pearlman, of the Court of Special Session, New York county Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of Mational Council of Negro Women; and William Agar, acting president of Freedom House

The three prizes to be awarded the winning contestants are a \$50.00 war bond as first prize with \$25.00 war bonds to the winners of the second and third prizes. The contest officially begins December 1, 1943, and closes March 15, 1944.

CALIFORNIA: The educational committee of the Los Angeles Youth Council has started a circulating library for members only. The library contains some of the newest books of Negro history. This committee has also requested the public library to add additional Negro newspapers to its present periodical section.

#### Comment On War

Let us kill off youth For the sake of truth.

We who are old know what truth is Truth is a bundle of vicious lies Tied together and sterilized—A war-makers' bait for unwise youth To kill off each other For the sake of Truth.

-LANGSTON HUGH

#### The Crisis

in one Youth

NFERENCE: Col. rsity, La.; New Jersey College College, N.Y.C. nington, D. C. altimore, Md incoln Univergineering, N.J. , Ga.; Johnson Virginia Union organ State Colege, Va.; Chey-lard University ute, Va.; Talla College, Pa. on, D. C.; Sarah rk College, Ga.;

Grove, Pa.; Wil-J.; Trenton, N. ter, Pa.; Brookoringfield, Mass. est Philadelphia; ich.; Crestmont, tartford, Conn. ute, S. C.; and

knell University

ia, B'nai B'nth; Inited States Stumerican Friends

The board of di ters to the Hille Trenton, N. J council; and the r, Atlanta, Ga. h division of the rough its Metrois sponsoring a the topic "What World." Among World." of the board o Vise, president of e American Jew D. Pearlman, o New York county , president of the Women; and Wil f Freedom House arded the winning bond as first prize he winners of the e contest officially and closes March

ctional committee council has started embers only. The e newest books on hittee has also reto add additional present periodical

n War

what truth is vicious lies rilized unwise youth

ANGSTON HUGH

#### Crisis In Making

(Continued from page 362)

within the framework of the American democratic system of government.

It was an important step to have the unanimity of white southern leaders to make this declaration. The second step then was to insure the working of a regional organization within the framework of the reality that is now the South. This was stated in the following resolution:

Second, we dedicate ourselves unswervingly to the successful achievement of this task. Since in the order of all nature and creations and of the growth and development of the people and society there are always certain leatures peculiar to each society; since in the order of democracy there are certain elemental principles of self-government that are inherent in each folk and regional society; and since in both the physical and cultural heritage of the South there are certain cumulative and tragic handicaps that represent powerful factors in the situation, we appear to the Nation, in covenant with the South, to exercise a wisdom and maturity through which methods, procedures, and rates of change may be worked at in the spirit of, and in conformity with, the principles of American democracy

It was an important step to have Negro leaders agree upon the inter-regional aspect. The next step was to authorize an organization that could work within this framework. This was done in the following resolution:

Third, to the end that there will be actual realistic accomplishments rather than mere words and that there may be possible ways and means of actually insuring progress in all approaches to these goals of equal opportunity, we urge the South to pool its efforts and set up a strong, unified, Southern Regional Council, constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups. Such a council, in subscribing to the new declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all other available agencies and individuals in private and in public life and especially with a similar national group when established.

Both for the effectiveness of its own work and its integration in the national picture, the Southern Council must needs have its national cooperation. There was, therefore, another resolution pointing this up:

Fourth, since the crisis is not only southern but national, not only for whites but for Negroes and other races as well, and since the central purpose of the new council is cooperation and the building of active good will, we urge the formation of a National Committee on race and regional development, constituted of representatives of all races and of public and private groups. Such a committee, subscribing to the declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all available agencies and individuals in private and public life.

We recognize the sweep and power of the emotions in time of war and crisis and the rights and tendencies in the democratic way of life for thousands of individuals and groups to agitate, organize, and promote their own peculiar programs. This is and must be the essence of a democracy. But it is also the way of democracy to focus upon fundamentals

and to give opportunity to responsible leadership through the orderly agencies of government and of private citizens. To this end no greater service can be rendered to the Nation than to covenant together in responsible organizations, to provide leadership and clearing house, and to avoid conflicts, waste and overlapping, on the one hand, and, on the other, to minimize the harmful influence of irresponsible forces in this great hour of need for good will and for effective ways of doing what is needed. We feel that in these councils may be approximated needs more nearly than in any other ways that now appear.

The Nation is committed now to what is generally called, both in private business and in public life, post-war planning to the end that we may be ready for the demobilization and reintegration of our millions of returning soldiers into the best possible American way of life. Recognizing that the problems of the folk and of race constitute a more difficult problem than that of physical planning, by the same token we urge all the more the obligation to apply to this great area of democracy the best the sciences, social sciences, the humanities, and religion can do in the realistic working out of next steps.

It is also respectfully urged that the President of the United States appoint a National Committee such as is suggested above.

#### **National Group Needed**

The essential reasons why a national group is needed are apparent. In their excellent book, Race Riot, Lee and Humphrey have wisely urged the need for both governmental and voluntaristic organizations working in the field of race relations. There is need for a national committee appointed by the President of the United States and, in general, having an official sanction, but supported primarily by voluntaristic funds. The duties of this commission would be threefold. One would be research and study in special fields. Another would be to provide a clearinghouse of information for the hundreds of individuals and committees seeking help. The third would be a sort of clearinghouse and aid to conferences and committees throughout the United

There are now in the United States more than a hundred organizations, voluntaristic and governmental. They are all asking questions as to how best to proceed, what to do, what not to do. All of these are necessary. At the same time, each one of these has a specific purpose and function, which is more limited than a greater national field of race and minority groups covering all areas and ethnic groups. Because of their specialized functions they may not have the confidence of the great mass of people.

Such a National committee would promote and encourage the work of such agencies as the NAACP and others and would in nowise limit or interfere with their activities. The membership would be so completely representative

of all races and all interests and all parties, and its objectives would be so impartial that it would have the confidence of hundreds of thousands of Americans who are earnestly asking for advice as to what they should do and the best way on.

It may not be possible to have such a committee, and it would seem that the administration would wisely withhold the selection and sanction of such a committee until such time as there was ample evidence that the committee would have the support of a great American public, and would serve as a tool for integration and unity rather than strife and dissension. Thus again it would appear as a supreme test of leadership.

#### Task Enormous

There is no gainsaying that the task of meeting this crisis is at the present time bigger than the combined leadership which is working on it. We must sense again and again that in this world crisis there is something bigger than is commonly appreciated. The total problem reflects something timeless, yet full of the quality of time in the here and now; spaceless, yet of the essence of the region and its folk; universal yet of the stuff of America, and more specifically of the epic and epoch of its southern biracial culture.

As when some youth faces crisis in battle above the clouds with a thousand hazards engulfing him and his companions, there emerges something greater than physical combat, something in the unconquerable spirit, which transcends the ordinary routine of mortals, so, hidden in crisis of folk and race, are elements of the spiritual world that transcend the ways and means of ordinary routine. The story of race, in emphasizing the spiritual qualities and the difficulties of the situation, points to another conclusion. It is that perhaps the most and the least that can be done, in conformity with all the ideals and realities involved, was not only to interpret the situation as adequately and widely as possible, but to provide arrangements whereby there would always be available the best possible leadership and the best possible spirit and good will to meet the changing situation in ways commensurate with their meaning to the life and work of a great region and

There was the old saying about the "saddest words of tongue or pen" recording that which might have been. In terms of region and race and Nation, the story of race and crisis recalled an earlier and more powerful characteriza-

tion that made possible an appeal to the future as well as that which was past. "How oft would I and ye would not" reflects a powerful measure of promise, prospect, and danger for the South and the Nation. By the same token, here is measure of crisis and of leadership.

#### Hollywood Blackface

(Continued from page 367)

of persecution and injustice. For we are at war, and war requires organization. Fortunately we have at hand, in the many writers' organization represented her, the instrumentalities with which to fortify ourselves. We can, under their sponsorship, form an army with an invincible singleness of purpose and an opportunity for all the rich diversity of attack of which our individual soldiers are capable. For only by such mobilization can we constructively assist in winning the war, in winning the peace, and quite incidentally, in winning our self-respect as writers who truly believe that we are recording, at this time, "the history of the world."

#### Capt. Allen Promoted

Capt. Williams Edward Allen, Jr., of X-ray service, Station Hospitals, has been promoted to major at Fort Huachuca, Arizona. He is a graduate of Howard University and the Howard Medical school. He served as an intern and resident in radiology at the Homer G. Phillips hospital, St. Louis, Mo., from 1931 to 1934.

#### Chicago Surface Lines Accept Negroes

The Chicago Surface Lines has notified the FEPC that applications from Negroes for all types of jobs will be accepted and considered on the same basis as those of white persons. The company operates all of Chicago's surface railways.

#### Sixth Liberty Ship Named for Negro

The SS Paul Laurence Dunbar, the sixth Liberty ship to be named for a Negro, was launched by the California Shipbuilding Corporation at Wilmington, Cal., October 19. Sponsor of the vessel was Mrs. Clarice Williams.



Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., has the distinction of being the first Negro Communist elected to the New York City Council. Mr. Davis is secretary of *The Daily Worker* and chairman of the Communist party for New York County. He is a graduate of Amherst College and the Harvard Law School, and before coming to New York eight years ago had practiced law in his native city of Atlanta, Ga.

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#### Negro Marines

Although the Marine Corps only be gan active training of Negro Marines on September 1, 1942, more than 8,500 of these recruits are now enrolled in the service. The first group of 1,200 Negro volunteers began training at Camp Le Jeune, New River, N. C., and sin months later, on March 1, the first Negro Marines were on active duty in the Far Pacific. Most of the Negro Marines, however, are in either Line duty or in the Mess service.

#### Nature's Gift

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The highest mountain, clearest brook. The flowers with their beauties rare, Are asking only that we look. And their exotic beauties share.

For Nature is a generous Dame, And of her wonders none denied, She shares with rich and poor the same. Her treasures glorified.

-BETTIE KERR

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## **NOTICE OF** NOMINATIONS

The Committee on Nominations nominates the following persons for membership on the National Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P., for terms expiring December 31, 1946:

HON. ARTHUR CAPPER Topeka, Kansas

DR. ALLAN K. CHALMERS, New York City

EARL B. DICKERSON, Chicago, Ill.

DOUGLAS P. FALCONER, New York City

THOMAS L. GRIFFITH, JR., Los Angeles, Calif.

DR. O. CLAY MAXWELL, New York City

MISS MARY W. OVINGTON, New York City

SIDNEY R. REDMOND, St. Louis, Mo.

THEODORE SPAULDING, Philadelphia, Pa.

R. J. THOMAS, Detroit, Mich.

HON. CHARLES E. TONEY, New York City

DR. LOUIS T. WRIGHT, New York City

These nominations will be voted on at the Annual Business Meeting of the Association to be held on Monday, January 3, 1944, at 2:00 p.m., in the offices of the Association, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York

#### **Committee on Nominations:**

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN A. A. LUCAS CLAYBORNE GEORGE THEODORE E. SPAULDING CHARLES E. TONEY JAMES H. ROBINSON JOHN B. HALL

#### Negroes In Navy

More than 74,000 Negroes are now serving in the U. S. Navy, according to Secretary Knox. Approximately 7,100 of these Negro recruits are members of the Seabees construction battalions organized within the Bureau of Yards and Docks to build advance bases wherever needed.

#### Vignette

Sunshine in Dixie Is not for me.

Stately towering trees Appear to me As tokens for lynching sprees.

-PERCY DE FREITAS

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Mrs. Grace Clifford, New York social leader says: "A clear, healthy, unblemished complexion is the greatest social asset! Ugly, pimply, rough skin weakens one's popularity, rendering it difficult to gain entree into society. Beautiful women cleanse their skin with warm water and gentle medicated Palmer's "SKIN-SUCCESS" SOAP. To lighten skin that is dark and tanned, I heartly recommend fast-working, fragrant Palmer's "SKIN-SUCCESS" WHITENING CREAM. Another hint: If embarrased by pimples, eczema and other blemishes of external origin, be sure to use Palmer's "SKIN-SUCCESS" OINTMENT. Helps bring blessed relief and a CLEARER, LIEAT THIED LOVING SKIN SYSTEM AND ADDRESS TO SKIN SYSTEM AND A HEALTHIER, LOVLIER SKIN, everyone adores.

#### **Book Review**

#### HARRIET TUBMAN

HARRIET TUBMAN. By Earl Conrad. Washington: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1943. XIV +248 pp. \$3.25.

In Harriet Tubman Earl Conrad has succeeded in bringing to life "the Moses of her Whether running, hobbling, crawlpeople." through mud and brush, swimming streams, or using other means of locomotion she stands out as the Great Conductor on the Underground Railroad. An active participant in the early plans for John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, she remains, because of her absence at the time of its execution, the one great question mark as to its probable suc-As spy, scout, and nurse, as a contender for woman suffrage, as founder of a home for the aged, as a vital force in religious movements of the day Harriet Tubman symbolizes, perhaps more accurately than most of her better known contemporaries, the fight for freedom and the humanitarian impulse which carried it through half of the last century and down to World War I. Vital as a child, the victim of frequent sleeping spells of short duration (the result of a vicious blow received at the hands of her master when she was in her early teens), she emerges victor over the hard work and brutality of her early years; and as she takes on stature she draws into her orbit such great personalities as Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Frances E. W. Harper, and Booker Washington; William H. Seward, Geritt Smith, John Brown, Lydia Maria Child, Susan B. Anthony, Colonel James Montgomery, and many more, giving deeper meaning to the movement which they poused and drawing into clearer focus the history of the period.

Harriet Tubman is a story of action, action primarily quiet, furtive, almost voiceless for a long time then rising to swift dramatic movement and colorful, rounded climaxes, sometimes accompanied by powerful vocal thrusts; and rightly so, for the protagonist of the story remained until the end a woman of decisive action and unobtrusive manner, speaking in public only when occasion demanded and in private only when there was something vital to say or when her many friends set her talking about the activities of her more than ninety years. Even in her latter years her energies were devoted to spiriting oppressed Negroes from the South, making herself felt at suffragist and religious meetings, supporting her parents and many others attached to her household, or busying herself with schemes for the total liberation of underprivileged people. Yet her life was not without its lightside, filled with her wit, her love of song, of the dance, of dramatic mimicry. Her talents in all these directions had been developed and used for the protection of her "pas-sengers," the delight of her friends, and the amusement of her family including her two husbands.

This is the story of Harriet Tubman as Conrad tells it. With such a character shown against the background of a brutalizing slave system, a civil war, a superbly humanitarian (if sometimes misled) North, a writhing, bitter South, and a growing suffragist movement, the meaning of American history for three-quarters of a century becomes clearer. For Conrad has not only told the story of a woman whose character is interesting for its many facets: he has drawn in clear multicolor one

of those lengthened shadows of a great human being which make the history of mankind.

ARTHUR E. BURKE

#### **Italy Wants Colonies**

Dr. Adolpho Omodoo, spokesman for the Action Party in Italy, asks for the restoration of the former Italian colonies as well as for an Italian mandate over Ethiopia.

#### Africa Open to European Refugees

Arrangements have been made for the "feeding and sheltering of more than 3,000,000 Greek refugees" in the Belgian Congo. Previously, Haile Selassie placed a whole town in Ethiopia at the disposal of Greek refugees.

#### Books on the Negro and Slavery

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#### LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorneys outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights.

CALIFORNIA

H. L. Richardson

1557 7th Street, Oakland Telephone: 5998

DELAWARE

Louis L. Redding

1002 French St., Wilmington Telephone: 3-1924

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Isaiah Lisemby 1609 First St. N. W., Washington D. C. Telephone: North 7343

ILLINOIS

Ellis & Westbrooks

3000 S. State St., Chicago, Ill. Telephone Cal-4968-9

INDIANA

William Henry Huff

East Chicago (Direct mail to 533 East 34th Place, Chicago, Ill. Telephone: OAKland 2848)

KANSAS

John Q. Sayers

P. O. Box 186, Hill City Telephone: 1

MICHIGAN

Floyd H. Skinner

Michigan at Monroe Avenue, Grand Rapids Telephone: 8-9042

NEW JERSEY

J. Mercer Burrell

23 Howard Street, Newark Telephone: Ma 3-4709

Robert Burk Johnson

300 Broadway, Room 603, Camden Telephone: Camden 0110 NEW YORK

William T Garvin W. 125th St., New Yor

217 W. 125th St., New York Telephone: ACademy 2-9260

OHIO

Harry E. Davis

202-6 Engineers Bldg., Cleveland Telephone: MA-1320

Chester K. Gillespie

416 Hickox Bldg., Cleveland Telephone: Cherry 1835

OKLAHOMA

Cecil E. Robertson

114 1-2 Court Street, Muskogee Telephone: 836

PENNSYLVANIA

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Sadie T. Mossell Alexander
40 S. Nineteenth Street, Philadelphia
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Theodore Spaulding

425 South Broad St., Philadelphia Telephone: Pennypacker 4834

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"We reprint below a portion of an excellent editorial from the spring issue of SOUTH TODAY. It is recommended to our readers that they . . . read the entire editorial, as well as a splendid poem, Portrait of the Deep South Speaking to Negroes on Morale. . . .

"The last issue is . . . one of the most brilliant, incisive and forthright publications ever to come out of the South. . . . Your editorial makes clear and unanswerable the moral as well as the social and political issue that has been troubling the 'liberals' even more than the traditionalists of the Old South." C.S.J.

SOUTH TODAY is published quarterly at Clayton, Georgia. \$1.00 a year. Single numbers: 50 cents each.

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-Employment: 9,399 Negroes

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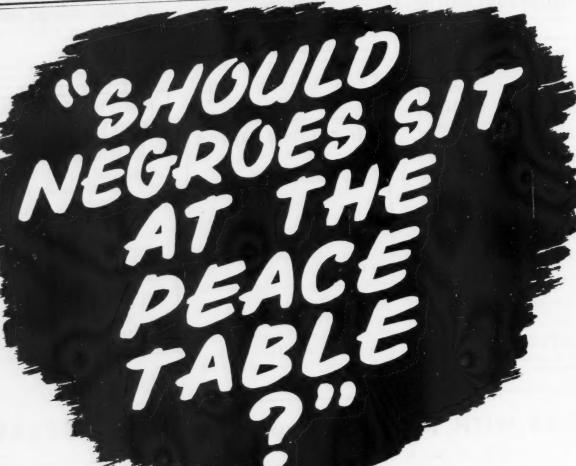
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Tampa, Florida



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## THE CRISIS

1943

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Williams, Mrs. Mayme Evelyn.....

**VOLUME 50** 

Meanest Trick ..... 105

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So at this Gladsome Season of the year we pause to extend to all, our sincere thanks and appreciation for their assistance and patronage and to wish for all a MERRY CHRISTMAS AND A HAPPY NEW YEAR.

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